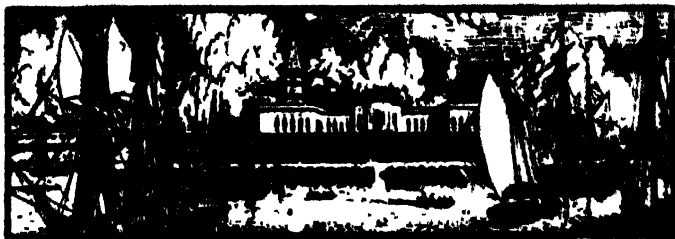


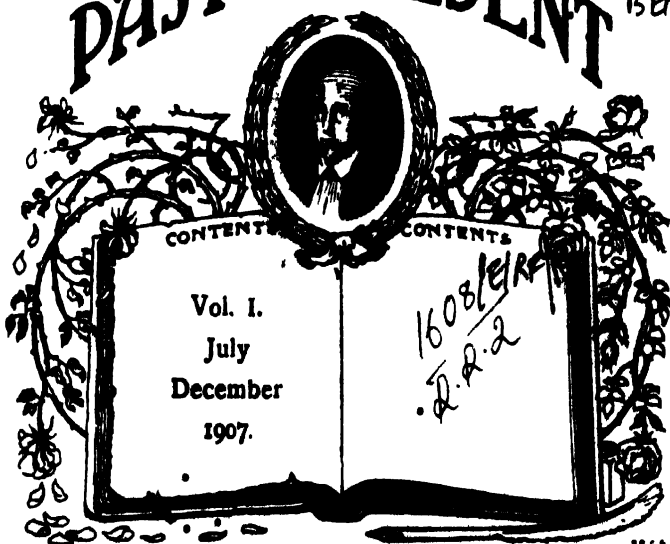
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## ERRATA.

### PAGE.

- 9 Eleventh line of footnote, for "Captain Dugand Campbell" *read* "Captain John Buchanan."  
(See also page 76.)
- 11 Nineteenth line from top, for "Claude" *read* "Claud."
- 11 Third line from bottom, for "form<sup>4</sup>," *read* "famous"
- 16 Eleventh line from top for "many" *read* "may."
- 17 First line of footnote, for "Lieutenant-Colonel" *read* "Major."
- 18 Seventeenth line from bottom, for "Claude" *read* "Claud."
- 20 Fourteenth line from top, for "the Governor-General" *read* "Ochterlony." Fourth line from top  
for "Beecher" *read* "Becher."
- 20 Twenty-eight and twenty-ninth lines. See page 166 in connection.
- 20 Sixth line from bottom, for "only" *read* "own."
- 31 Eighth line from bottom of footnote, for "prevails" *read* "prevail."
- 58 Second line of verse VIII, for "dot" *read* "always dot."
- 59 Third line of verse XV, for "house" *read* "horse."
- 59 Second line of verse XIX, for "beggar" *read* "the beggar."
- 67 Fifth line, from top, after "Winsloe" add "Phillipps."
- 67 Tenth line from top, for "Macdonald" *read* "MacDonell."
- 71 Fifth line delete "Reach" First line of verse XVII for "was fine" *read* "it was fine."  
Sixth line from bottom, for "Lord" *read* "load."
- 76 Last line, for "initiated" *read* "initialled."
- 93 Seventh line, for "Baddy" *read* "Braddyll."
- 105 Fifth line from bottom, for "Ainot" *read* "Amyat." Also written "Amiot."
- 135 Ninth line of para., for "and died" *read* "and Who died."
- 153 Twenty-ninth line, for "Mr." *read* "Dr."
- 162 Third line from bottom, for "J. H. Marshman" *read* "J. O. Marshman."
- 184 Fourth line from top, for "Colonel" *read* "Mr."
- 185 Tenth line from top, for "Spike" *read* "Speke."
- 188 Fourth line from top, for "Bamanbasti" *read* "Teen Coonjar" (three cornered.)
- 188 Footnote, insert connecting asterisks.
- 191 Line 3 for "Thacherary" *read* "Thachery."
- 194 Twelfth line, for "Fishers" *read* "Fisher's."
- 213 Second illustration facing, for "Hasting (*sic*) Impey's Tomb" *read* "Tomb of Elijah Impey, Jr."





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### JULY 1907.

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# Calcutta Historical Society.

*Abbreviated Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society, held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on Saturday, April 27, 1907, at 5-30 p.m., the Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, K.C.I.E., Chief Justice of Bengal, presiding.*

## PRESENT :

The Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, K.C.I.E., Chief Justice of Bengal (presiding), the Hon. Justice Rampini, the Hon. Justice Holmwood, the Hon. Justice Harington, the Hon. Justice Fletcher, the Ven. the Archdeacon of Calcutta, Rev. W. K. Firminger, B.D., Mr. George Huddleston, C. I. E. ; Mr. James Luke, Dr. Harold H. Mann, Rev. Canon Cole, LL. B., Mr. D. Hooper, Mr. W. C. Madge, Mr. J. De Grey Downing, Mr. R. H. M. Rustomjee, Mr. A. Owens, Mr. Summer, Mr. F. Ewing, Captain Coldstream, R. E., Mr. J. T. Broome, Mr. W. H. Phelps, Mr. W. J. Simmons, Mr. C. A. Oldham, I.C.S., Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., Mr. P. N. Mookerjee, Mr. K. G. Gupta, Babu Raj Chunder Chunder, Mr. Lorimer, Mr. C. Palmer, Mr. E. W. Madge, Mr. N. C. Bose, Mr. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. Syed Hossain, Mr. H. St. John Jackson, Mr. I. C. Chowdry, Mr. R. Dunbar and others numbering nearly 80 people.

The President in his opening remarks said :—

Gentlemen,—I appreciate very highly the compliment which has been paid me in asking me to preside at this meeting this afternoon. We have met to take the initial steps towards founding a Historical Society for Calcutta, the Capital of the East. The project has a most fascinating aspect, and I feel confident the scheme has every probability of success. When I was invited to preside this afternoon, I felt much diffidence in so doing, conscious that there were so many other gentlemen in Calcutta better qualified to do so. But at the same time there was, perhaps, a certain fitness in asking me to take the chair, not on account of any personal qualifications, but as the successor of one who played so grave and so important a part in the early days of Calcutta's History. No historian of Calcutta, writing on the last 30 years of the 18th century, can pass over in silence the name of Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and whose judicial chair is at present occupied, however unworthily, by the humble individual who is addressing you. There are few offices in Calcutta, nay even in India, which can trace their origin back for the best part of 150 years, or can show an unbroken line of descent, over that long period. The history of the Supreme and of the High Court is absolutely interwoven with the history of Calcutta itself. And when we mention the name of Sir Elijah Impey

we can almost conjure up before us the shades of the great and of the beautiful of that period. We can recall the small, almost attenuated, figure of Warren Hastings ; we can see in our mind's eye Francis and Barwell, Monson and Clavering, with their jealousies, their ambitions and their intrigues ; and we can picture the beauty so admirably typified in the loveliness of Miss Sanderson and Madame Grand. This passing reference to this period shows how wide a field is open to the historian of Calcutta. The recent discovery of the identity of the tomb of Miss Sanderson, who married Mr. Barwell and only lived two years after her marriage, may fitly be referred to on the present occasion. I am glad to find that Dr. Busteed, whose *Echoes from Old Calcutta* are as well known as they are appreciated by all of us, is a very warm supporter of our movement. I am not surprised at that. One of the difficulties of our proposed Association is the fact that the European community here is of a somewhat flitting character—a criticism, however, which applies to most of our associations, but, at the same time, it is a consideration that should induce us to try and obtain as many of our Indian friends as we can to join hands with us. We should be catholic in our views and not confine our membership to any particular nationality. There must, I think, be many who would wish to do something to revive the interest in the earlier Anglo-India and to save from oblivion the history of the founders of our Indian Empire. Our last distinguished Viceroy, Lord Curzon, (applause) undoubtedly gave a great impetus towards historical research in this country, and the marked interest he displayed towards the preservation of Indian monuments and in the historical memories of Calcutta lead one to the conclusion that were he now among us, he would be an ardent supporter of our proposed Association. I must not detain you longer. I do not think I can better outline the objects of the Society than by quoting from a letter of Mr. J. De Grey Downing, which was recently published in the Calcutta press. This gentleman says :—

“Would it not be possible to form a Society having for its object the gathering together of the threads of history of old Calcutta of its once prominent citizens, their houses and their old time social rendezvous and pastimes. . . . it should not be difficult to form the nucleus of a Calcutta Historical Society which in the course of a few years with a band of earnest workers would gather together such a goodly pile of information and records as would provide the material for a full and lasting history of old Calcutta a sufficient justification for such a Society's existence apart from the happy result of bringing together those who are interested not only in the land they live in, but in the History of ‘Citizens of no mean city.’ It needs but the energy of a few to start such a Society, the formation of which it is to be hoped will not be long delayed.”



We have an excellent cause, and I anticipate that the Association will become popular and successful. In this cause we must weld ourselves together with earnestness, nay with enthusiasm; and I hope, as I have reason to believe, that in this our effort we shall have behind us the sympathy and the support of the press of Calcutta (Applause).

The President then moved the first resolution which runs as follows:—

“That a Society, to be called the Calcutta Historical Society, be formed for the purpose of preserving ancient and historical Institutions in Calcutta and its environs.”

Mr. De Grey Downing, F.R.S., Litt, M.R.A.S., said:—

Gentlemen,—I am sure I echo the opinion of all present, when I say that we have listened with great interest to the sympathetic remarks of the Hon. President of this meeting and that we are greatly indebted to him for his presence among us this afternoon. His occupation of the Presidential chair at the opening meeting of the proposed Calcutta Historical Society is, I think, the most appropriate choice that could have been made; and it is equally fitting that the proposal, which has just been put forward, should emanate from the Chief Justice of Bengal, the holder of one of the most historic titles connected with Calcutta. When less than three months ago I put forward in the public press the suggestion that a Calcutta Historical Society should be formed, I little thought it would meet with such a sympathetic and generous response, much less did I dream that the Chief Justice of Bengal would lend the weight of his influence to the initial meeting. I am equally certain that but for the herculean energy of Mr. Dunbar the proposal would not have materialised in the splendid way your presence here this afternoon testifies to. It now only remains for me to second the motion put to you by the President.

The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. James Luke moved the second resolution which runs as follows:—

“That the Society do adopt, for the purpose of furthering its aims, and as a means of disseminating a knowledge of the History of this Province, a Magazine to be entitled *Bengal Past and Present*.”

Dr. Harold Mann seconded the resolution.

The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Robert Dunbar said:—The next item of business is to elect a President, Vice-Presidents, Council, Secretary and Treasurer. I propose that Sir Francis Maclean be asked to accept the post of President of this Society.

The Rev. W. K. Firminger seconded the motion, which was then put and carried unanimously.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Rampini: It is suggested that Raja Benoy Krishna Deb ought to be a Vice-President. He has written a book about

the History of Calcutta and is connected with Calcutta. He is a direct descendant of the historical Dewan who lived in the days of Lord Clive.

Mr. Robert Dunbar : I propose that the Hon. Mr. Justice Rampini and Raja Benoy Krishna Deb be elected Vice-Presidents.

Mr. J. De Grey Downing : I second that. The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

The Rev. W. K. Firminger : I propose that the following gentlemen be elected as a provisional Council with power to add to their number :—Justices Stephen, Rampini, Holmwood, Harington and Fletcher, Lieutenant-Colonel Palin, the Chaplain of St. John's Church, Mr. C. A. Oldham, Mr. Hurrinath De, Archdeacon Luckman, Messrs. W. J. Simmons, J. G. Cumming, P. N. Mukerjee, James Luke, G. H. Sutherland, John Davenport, F. C. T. Halliday, W. C. Madge, G. Hubberton, E. W. Madge, R. H. M. Rustomjee, R. D. Mehta, J. De Grey Downing.

Mr. W. C. Madge : May I ask whether any Mahomedan gentleman has been appointed ?

Mr. Robert Dunbar : The reason why more names of Indian gentlemen have not been put down is because only a few Indian gentlemen replied to the circular letter.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Harington : May I ask whether the list includes the names of those gentlemen who signed the original circular ?

Mr. Robert Dunbar : Yes.

The President : What we shall try to do when we settle down to business is to find out some Indian gentlemen and ask them to serve on the Council.

The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

The President : As regards the Secretary I propose that Mr. Robert Dunbar be appointed Secretary. It is quite clear what the feeling of the meeting is upon that point.

The Rev. W. K. Firminger : I second that. The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

The President : I propose that Mr. Wilmat Corfield be appointed Treasurer.

The Rev. W. K. Firminger : I second that. The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

The President : The next item of business is to appoint an Editor or Editors of the Magazine.

Mr. James Luke : I don't think you can get a better man than the Rev W. K. Firminger and I propose that he be appointed Editor.

Mr. Geo. Huddleston : I second that. The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. W. J. Simmons moved the next resolution which runs as follows :—

“That the Council be, and they are hereby empowered, to effect the registration of the Society under the provisions of the Societies Registration Act 1860, (Act XXI. of 1860), or of such other Act as may be advisable and to that end to draw up the Memorandum of Association and Rules and Regulations (or Articles of Association) of the Society and to report progress within one month from this date.” He said : You, Mr. President, have referred to the fitting character of the European community here, and there is no doubt that what would tend to give permanence to the Society would be its registration. Besides other advantages it enables it to hold property without the concurrent expense of transfer and you have a body which can sue or be sued. I therefore propose that the Society be registered, preferably under Act XXI of 1860.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Holmwood I second that and I trust the registration will be under Act XXI of 1860. From my experience in the High Court I think Act XXI of 1860 will be the best Act to register the Society under.

The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

The President moved the next resolution which runs as follows :—

“That the following gentlemen be invited to become Patrons and Vice-Patrons of the Society :—H.E. the Earl of Minto, Governor-General of India ; Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, Lord Curzon of Kedleston ; Lord Reay ; Lord Avebury, H.H. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal ; The Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, K.C.I.E., Chief Justice of Bengal ; The Most Rev. Dr. Copleston, Metropolitan of India ; The Very Rev. Dr. Brice Meuleman, Archbishop of Calcutta ; Dr. H. E. Busteed, C.I.E. ; Sir Ernest Cable ; H.H. The Maharajah of Cooch Behar, H.H. The Maharajah of Durbhanga ; and others as their names may occur.”

Archdeacon Luckman : I have much pleasure in seconding that. The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

The President : I don't know if any gentleman present has any other business which he would wish to put forward.

Archdeacon Luckman : It might be interesting to do what Societies similar to our own do in England, namely, that we should organise parties to go round and visit various historic places and secure someone to lecture on the spot and tell us what occurred there. For instance, if we went down to St. John's churchyard we could spend an afternoon of intense interest. I am perfectly certain that we can get the Rev. W. K. Firminger to take us down to St. John's churchyard and give us a lecture on the spot. The result will be that this Society will not be merely academic but interesting. In Middleton Row and Russell Street we might find many places of interest.

The Hon Mr. Justice Rampini : I have much pleasure in supporting that suggestion.

The President : This is a suggestion which we may give effect to afterwards. What about the question of subscription ? It is suggested to me that Rs. 30 a year will not be too much. I don't know whether that is too much or too little. That is a point on which I desire gentlemen present should express their opinion.

Mr. Geo. Huddleston : It seems to me that Rs. 30 a year is rather a big sum for a number of people. If it is produced so much the better. The Magazine will probably pay for itself.

Dr. Harold Mann : For similar Societies in England I think the fee is a guinea. If you make it Rs. 15 or 16 that will be enough. I propose that the subscription be Rs. 15 yearly.

Mr. Geo. Huddleston : I second that.

Mr. J. De Grey Downing : Rs. 16 per annum will certainly not be enough. At home the subscription to the Royal Society is three guineas, while for the Royal Geographical Society it is two guineas. As regards the Asiatic Society here the subscription is Rs. 42 yearly. I think we should fix the subscription at Rs. 32 per annum.

Mr. W. J. Simmons : I think the reference to the Asiatic Society is hardly a fair one because that Society gives its members a vast amount of literature.

Mr. J. De Grey Downing : Our Magazine will be included in that.

The President : It is a much easier thing to reduce a subscription than to increase it. What has been suggested is on the one hand that the subscription should be Rs. 30 and on the other that it should be Rs. 16. May I suggest a compromise and say for the present Rs. 20 ?

The President's suggestion was accepted unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Mr. W. C. Madge, seconded by Mr. Rustonjee and carried unanimously.

The President : It is great pleasure to me to be present. I hope that the Society which we have started will be a decided success and will prosper.

The proceedings then terminated.

Among those unavoidably absent were Mr. G. H. Sutherland ; the Hon. Justice Stephen ; Mr. Henry Newman ; Mr. J. G. Cumming ; Mr. F. C. T. Halliday ; Mr. P. F. Ryan ; Mr. W. Dillon ; Mr. Hurrinath De.

Subsequent to the meeting the following telegram and letters received :—

From Maharaj Kumar Sir Prodyat Tagore :—Cossipore being out of town regret exceedingly I am unable attend meeting the Historical Society to-day ; the movement has my cordial sympathy and support.

HACKWOOD, BASINGSTOKE,

*The 16th of May 1907.*

DEAR SIR,—I am glad to hear of your effort to interest people in the historical associations of Calcutta. There is no subject of the class more worthy of attention or more full of romance. There is also no subject more commonly neglected and, I had almost said, despised. The older guide books of Calcutta are full of absurd mistakes and misstatements, and Mr. Firminger's book was the first attempt in recent years to place matters upon a sounder footing. How many of the residents of Calcutta, I wonder, are aware of the exact spot where Warren Hastings fought his duel with Francis, of the identity of the various houses at Alipore which were owned or lived in by Hastings, of the house in which W. M. Thackeray was born, of the different buildings which were occupied as Council Houses by the Government of India, of the strange and romantic history of the big house at Kidderpore.

Then there are the old Cemeteries (about which a well-known article was written by Sir W. Hunter), Bishop's College with all its vicissitudes, and the Maidan which almost deserves a history to itself.

I devoted myself more particularly while in India to collecting the materials for a history of the two Government Houses, in Calcutta and at Barrackpore, always intending to work them up in the form of a book. I hardly know whether I shall ever find time for this ; but the raw material is in my possession.

The most reliable sources of information about old Calcutta—apart from Dr. Busteed's delightful book—are to be found in articles in the old *Calcutta Review*.

Perhaps also you are aware of the excellent collection of epitaphs from the Calcutta Cemeteries contained in *The Bengal Obituary* published by Thacker in 1851.

There are two main difficulties that you will experience. Calcutta having always been the seat of Government, and the principal buildings belonging to Government, the records of their history are for the most part hidden away in the archives either of the Local Government or of the Government of India, from which it is by no means easy to extricate them, and where they have sometimes been lost and frequently forgotten.

The second difficulty arises from the fleeting and migratory character of the resident European population. A few keen spirits may possibly co-exist at a given time. But as they disappear or their ranks become attenuated, the interest dwindles and the movement ultimately expires.

This is no reason, however, why it should not be undertaken ; for even in a comparatively short spell of life, much can be done by the labours of

even a small society, and if the results are printed, they cannot be lost or wiped out.

I hope that you will obtain the co-operation of Native Gentlemen. I found that in many cases the Indian intellect possessed a remarkable aptitude for historical, antiquarian or topographical research ; and living, always in the country, they enjoy advantages not open to birds of passage like the majority of Englishmen.

The Home Department will possess all the papers about the search that was conducted under my orders into the identity of interesting houses in Calcutta. We identified a large number ; but I daresay that some escaped our notice.

Wishing you all success.

I am, yours faithfully,

CURZON.

BENGAL CLUB,

*Monday.*

DEAR SIR,—I am very sorry I was unable to attend the meeting at the Town Hall on Saturday as I was not in Calcutta that afternoon.

I have read an account of the meeting and shall be glad to do what I can to further the interests of the Historical Society.

Yours truly,

G. H. SUTHERLAND.

53 BARRACKPORE TRUNK ROAD,

*Cossipore P.O., April 27, 1907.*

Maharaja Bahadur Sir J. M. Tagore regrets his inability to attend the meeting of the proposed Calcutta Historical Society, to be held this afternoon owing to the fact that he is now residing out of town, at his country seat, and cannot therefore conveniently take the long drive to the Town Hall. That he has full sympathy with the object of the Society he has already intimated.









## ERRATA.

### PAGE.

- 6 Eleventh line of footnote for "Captain Dugald Campbell" *read* "Captain John Buchanan."
- 11 Third line from bottom for "former" *read* "famous."
- 16 Eleventh line from top for "many" *read* "may."
- 17 First line of footnote for "Lieutenant-Colonel" *read* "Major."
- 20 Fourteenth line from top for "the Governor-General" *read* "Ochterlony."
- 20 Sixth line from bottom for "only" *read* "own."
- 31 Eighth line from bottom of footnote for "prevails" *read* "prevail."
- 59 Second line of verse XIX for "beggar" *read* "the beggar."

# Our Work.

## I. "LEST WE FORGET."

**T**HE programme of work which the Society has adopted is enormous. For it will be our business not only to investigate the records of the past, but to stay the hand of Father Time as that reckless old person wipes his ruthless sponge over the slate on which we, the Calcutta men of to-day, are calculating the problems of our daily life. "Lest they forget" is to be as much our motto as "lest we forget." Old houses are not to be suffered to disappear before they have been immortalized by our photographers, and a vigilant eye is to be kept over every crumbling ruin which may perchance "point a moral or adorn a tale." We are not only a Historical Society, but a Society which hopes to make the history of our own Calcutta of to-day a simpler task for the historian of the future. In point of fact, we shall probably make his task the more difficult. The wealth of material we shall provide for the future historian will, perhaps, encumber his sense of proportion; and he may fail to see the forest for the trees. Then, again, there are some things which it might be just as well that old Father Time should be permitted to rub out. Would, for instance, that the existence of Baron Imhoff could have been rubbed off the slate of Warren Hastings and his beloved Marian. But who of us would wish to forget that quaint sun-shaded grave at Berhampore, where rest the mortal remains of the young widow\*

\* Sir Alfred Lyall, in his sketch of Warren Hastings in Messrs. Macmillan & Co's Series "English Men of Action" (1889), p. 11, writes:—"It was unsafe for him [Hastings] to return to Moorshedabad; so he escaped to Chunar, and thence went down the river Ganges to join the Calcutta refugees at Fulta. Here he met the widow of Captain Campbell, whom he afterwards married, and in 1758 he wrote to a friend that he was very happy, and found every good quality in his wife. But the poor lady died in 1789, after leaving him two children, neither of whom survived childhood; of this brief episode in his eventful life only the bare fact remains, like the names and dates on some obscure stone among the historic monuments of a great church." So too Captain J. Trotter in his volume on Warren Hastings in the "Rulers of India Series," p. 19. In a paper read by the Rev. H. B. Hyde at a meeting of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* it was brought to light that the first Mrs. Warren Hastings was the widow of Captain Dugald Campbell. *Proceedings A. S. B. July 1899*. The inscription on her grave is as follows:—

• IN MEMORY OF  
• MRS. MARY HASTINGS

• and her daughter

ELIZABETH

who died 11th July, 1789

in the 2—year of her age

This monument was erected

by her husband,

Warren Hastings, Esquire

in due regard

of her memory.

Restored by the Government  
of Bengal 1863.

whom Warren Hastings married, perhaps, more out of pity than passion, when he found her a mere girl among the refugees from the terror of 1756 at Fulta? There she lies, and close to her lies "the wife of Colonel John Muttock, died 1777, the grand-daughter of the famous Hampden." In the compound of a babu's villa at Champdani are two European graves—one of them the grave of a soldier, in his day distinguished for bravery in the great struggle in the Carnatic. His doughty deeds are now forgotten. How many of us have visited the site of the once formidable fortress at Shamnagar? Who built it? Who destroyed it? How shall we find out? Why should the grave of Colonel Monson and his wife, in the South Park Street Cemetery, remain nameless? Even in passing the forlorn Mahomedan graves opposite the Bamun Bustee Police Thana, in Lower Circular Road, we might well recruit our philosophy by the memory of one who lies there, close to one of Tipú Sultán's sons—an ex-Nawab of Oudh, whose wedding festivities cost 30 lakhs of rupees and whose burial cost but seventy rupees. The text of the inscription which once covered the tomb of Wazir Ali is preserved in the "*Asiatic Journal*" for 1828 (Vol. X), but the tablet has long since been stolen. If the preservation of historical monuments is to be one of the purposes for which our Society is to exist we shall need an ever-active vigilance committee.

"In India," wrote the late Dr. C. R. Wilson, "frequent changes make short memories." Last year occurred the centenary of Henry Martyn's coming to Bengal, an epoch-making event most certainly in the history of the English Church and not improbably in the history of India. The present writer, finding himself in Cornwall about the time of the centenary, went in search of traces of Martyn's footsteps at Truro and of his beloved Lydia Grenfell at Marazion. On his way he wondered whether the centenary would pass unobserved in Bengal. It did pass unobserved.

To his care has been entrusted the literary side of the Society's undertakings, and it seems to him that when one has to contemplate a field of research in extent so wide, in possibilities so rich, and yet in many directions so obscure, an effort should first be made to single out the lines on which, it would seem, the work should be initiated. To do this it is necessary to say something about the work which has already been accomplished.

## 2. THE WORK THAT HAS BEEN DONE.

It may be said, without risk of contradiction, that nearly every one who has discovered for himself the charm of "Old Calcutta" has been led to that

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There is a figure left out after 2 in the sixth line. The date of death and the age are those of Mrs. Warren Hastings and not of her child, who only lived nineteen days. Major J. H. Tull Walsh, I.M.S., in his *History of the Moorshedabad District* (p. 79), suggests that Mrs. Muttock must have been the great-grand-daughter and not the grand-daughter of Hampden.

A full note on the subject of the first Mrs. Warren Hastings will be found in Sidney Grier's recent *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*.





discovery by Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta*.<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Busteed has made the men of Warren Hastings' day live again in our midst. We may learn more about the petty details of their lives; future antiquaries may reveal the precise amount of their salaries, the height of their wigs, or their losses at play; but we shall never, perhaps, see the men themselves more closely than Dr. Busteed has shown them to us. Having learned from Dr. Busteed to prize these old memories, we have gone on to study the amusing scrap-books put together by the Rev. J. Long, Seton Karr, Sandeman and Carey. The lady who writes under the pseudonym of "Sidney Grier" has given us a remarkable sketch of the times of Warren Hastings in a romance which has the Great Proconsul for its hero, and still more recently the same lady has given us a fine edition of the letters of Hastings to his wife.†

Then we have the elaborate studies of Old Fort William by one whose character and ability have left a deep and lasting impression on all who knew him—the late Dr. C. R. Wilson. It is a public misfortune that the narrative of *The English in Bengal* has been bound up with so much matter of secondary interest, and published in volumes of a somewhat forbidding appearance. Recently Mr. S. C. Hill, well known to us by his *Three Frenchmen in Bengal* and his *Life of General Claude Martin*, has given us a most painstaking and elaborate description of Bengal in the year of the disaster of 1756.

The ecclesiastical history of Bengal, centring round the Church of St. John, has been told with scientific documentation by the Archdeacon of Madras (the Ven'ble H. B. Hyde). Sir William Hunter has played with consummate grace the part of our local "Old Mortality." Mr. E. W. Madge, from time to time, has taught us to be proud of our own Calcutta children—Wale Byrn, Kyd, Derozio, and many others. Miss Blechynden has recently shown us, in her *Calcutta Past and Present*, that those who glean where Dr. Busteed has reaped have many rich ears of wheat for their garner. From the pens of the brothers H. E. A. Cotton and Julian Cotton we have just received a book entitled *Calcutta Old and New*.

In addition to these modern books, there are a number of older books which should be preserved from the dust heap. The late Mr. J. M. Macfarlane, at the time of his death, was engaged in preparing for the press a new edition of a former Calcutta Book, *Hartly House*. Sterndale's *History of the Calcutta Collectorate* is a modest little work which should be brought up to date and republished. H. J. Rainey's *Historical and*

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<sup>\*</sup> It is much to be hoped that when yet another edition of Dr. Busteed's book is called for the publishers will see their way to supplying a careful index of persons and places mentioned.

† An important collection of diaries and papers of Warren Hastings is preserved at Worton Hall and requires the attention of an editor.

*Topographical Sketch of Calcutta* might well be reprinted. Our Society may, perhaps, be able to do something in this way in the future.\*

Before leaving the subject of the work that has been done I am bound to refer to Lord Macaulay's famous essay on Warren Hastings. If a contempt for Locke is the beginning of philosophy, a suspicion of Macaulay is the beginning of history; yet if we begin with a suspicion we should end with a just appreciation. Anglo-Indian history never interested our own kith and kin until Macaulay cast over it the glamour of his eloquence.† If you wish to appreciate the service to India of this great man you have only to read his own words. "We have always thought it strange that, while the history of the Spanish empire in America is familiarly known to all the nations of Europe, the great actions of our countrymen in the East should, even among ourselves, excite little interest. Every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma and who strangled Atahualpa. But we doubt whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Sujah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindoo or a Mussulman. Yet the victories of Cortes were gained over savages who had no letters, who were ignorant of the use of metals, who had not broken in a single animal to labour, who wielded no better weapons than those which could be made out of sticks, flints, and fish-bones, who regarded a horse-soldier as a monster, half man and half beast, who took a harquebusier for a sorcerer, able to scatter the thunder and lightning of the skies. The people of India, when we subdued them, were ten times as numerous as the Americans whom the Spaniards vanquished, and were at the same time quite as highly civilised as the victorious Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo, and buildings more beautiful and costly than the cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, viceroys whose splendour far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astonished the Great Captain. *It might have been expected, that every Englishman who takes any interest in any part of history would be curious to know how a handful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated, in the course of a few years, one of the greatest empires in the world. Yet, unless we greatly err, this subject is, to most readers, not only insipid but positively distasteful.*"

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\* I should also notice here the following books :—Raja Binaya Krishna Deb : *The Early History and Growth of Calcutta*. A. K. Ray : *A Short History of Calcutta*. Census of India, Vol. VII., Part I. W. K. Firminger : *Thacher's Guide to Calcutta*. Lt.-Col. D. S. Crawford : *Brief History of the Hughli District*. S. C. Dey : *Hooghly Past and Present*.

† A severe criticism of Macaulay will be found in the Volume of Mr. John Morley's *Miscellanies*, but, in the judgment of Warren Hastings, Mr. J. Morley himself has been misled by the insidious, but false show of impartiality of the older Mill. See Sir J. Strachey : *Hastings and the Rohilla War*.

If a suspicion of Lord Macaulay is the beginning of historical wisdom, the failure to recognise his genius is the hallmark of a novice. Our Society would do well if it were to invite the Clarendon Press to publish a "Calcutta Edition" of Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings for "the use of schools." Of our great Proconsul's *fortiter in re* no instructed person at the present day doubts: that it was *suaviter in modo* more than has ever been supposed historical research can amply prove.

### 3. THE NEED FOR A CLOSER STUDY OF LATER HISTORY.

It is not my intention, however, to labour an exhaustive bibliographical note. I wish rather to bring into relief the fact that, while much has been done to recover for our imagination the social life of the times of Hastings, Francis and Impey, and while an infinite amount of painstaking research has revealed the history of the rise and downfall of Old Fort William, we are in peril of letting the Calcutta of the early part of the Nineteenth Century vanish beyond recovery. Did history cease to be charming when men left off wearing perukes on their heads and lace on their sleeves?

We should like to learn something of what was going on in the minds of Calcutta men to whom Dupleix and Lally were almost living memories, when they heard that Buonaparte was conceiving plans of an Eastern Empire; when, during the sea-conflict, insurance freights against British cargoes were ruining Calcutta trade; and the Danish merchants, as they watched their tall ships discharge by the busy wharves of Serampur, were, perhaps, dreaming that for them was destined commercial supremacy in Bengal.

Of the building of Government House not a few interesting chapters might be written.\* We should like to know more about the Mr. Thomas Hickey, who, on February 5, 1779, laid the first stone. He was doubtless the artist who painted the Mysore portraits (now hanging in the corridor of the S.-W. wing of Government House) and who accompanied Lord Macartney's embassy to China. It would be of the greatest interest to trace the street changes involved in the erection of the Marquess of Wellesley's fine palace. Then, too, in Dalhousie Square, was the College of Fort William conceived on a scale of magnificence, which almost drove the directors of the H. E. I. Co. to despair. And with that building was associated the never-to-be-forgotten names of the "Patriarch" Brown, Claudius Buchanan and Carey of Serampur. Colonel Ranking, I have reason to know, compiled a history of the College, but, for want of encouragement, he has never published it.

What a little do we know of the Calcutta of the Marquess of Hastings! And what a host of Calcutta worthies belonging to that day, whose person-

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\* [We are glad to hear that this is a subject which may very possibly be dealt with by Lord Curzon.]



alities and the parts they played in our city, need to be brought into clearer light—Sir William Keir Grant, General Sir Charles Doyle and Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie.

Passing on, what could be more interesting than the early history of Journalism in Calcutta and the struggle for the liberties of the Press. Dr. Busteed has given us a vivid picture of the truculent James Augustus Hicky, and "Sidney Grier" has recently traced his story to a later date. But now we should like to hear more of J. Silk Buckingham and of Samuel Smith, of the "Hurkaru." Of Calcutta artists, what career could have been more full of striking incident and contrasted impressions than was that of Robert Home!

#### 4. STEAM NAVIGATION.

On December 9, 1825, an old Trafalgar veteran\* quietly brought up the *Hughli* the first steamship that ever journeyed from an English port to India; and at that time, and for years after, there were, even among the wise and prudent in India, those who regarded steam navigation in very much the same way as the average man of to-day regards M. Santos Dumont's airships. Lord Clare, Governor of Bombay, from March 21, 1831, to March 17, 1835, journeyed from Egypt to Bombay on a steamer, but he solemnly wrote to Bishop Daniel Wilson that no one who had once done a journey on a steamship would willingly do so again. He was of opinion that the voyage home by steamer and by caravan "over the wilderness" would cost at least £300. There is no knowing: Lord Clare's prediction (thanks to "primage" and the P. & O.) may yet come true—despite the Suez Canal. But here again, what an interesting subject for study—the history of the port of Calcutta, its dockyards, the introduction of steam navigation, the cost of the journey homeward or outward during the last hundred years! How enormous has been the influence of rapid communication on the life and civilization of the Indian Empire. How different the position of a Governor-General who might have to wait for a whole year for a reply to his despatches and a Viceroy whose policy can be overthrown in an hour or so by electric telegram. And yet consult your so-called histories of the Empire: where will you find these developments, which in reality revolutionize the constitution and the character of the Empire, adequately worked out?

I do not know if a history of the P. & O. Company has ever been compiled, but I feel certain that the early chapters of that Company's story would be of the deepest interest to Calcutta readers. The same may be said of the origin of the British India and Asiatic lines. Captain A. J. Brame has given us a pleasant book *The India General Steam Navigation Company*. In

\* Captain James Henry Johnstone. There is a monument to him in St. Stephen's Church, Kidderpur.

an article contributed to the *Calcutta Review*, some two years ago, I gathered together some notices of early steamships on Hughli waters.\*

#### 4. COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY.

To many of us the history of our oldest business houses would be of great interest. Messrs. Mackenzie, Lyall have shown how interesting is the story of their firm. The founder of Messrs. Jessop & Co. was a man of extraordinary character and ability, we ask to know more of him. If Messrs. Ahmuty & Co. or Mackintosh, Burn would enlighten us as to the history of their venerable firms, the information would be most welcome. The Society should have a special department for the history of Calcutta Commerce.

The subject of Bank failures in India is, perhaps, rather sinister, but it should not be overlooked. Mr. C. V. McMinn, late I.C.S., has, I know, done a vast amount of research in this direction. He has, in particular, made a close study of the history of the great Calcutta prince of merchants—"old Palmer," who once lived in the house which has made way for the new United Service Club. If Mr. McMinn could be induced to place the rich harvest of his lifelong labours in the study of Indian Economic History at the disposal of the Society, we should have good cause to congratulate ourselves. A Calcutta citizen may observe with pride that on the occasion of what was, perhaps, the crisis of English banking history, when the Bank of England itself had only 5 per cent. in reserve for its liabilities, or only 15 per cent. to meet the bankers' balances, the Bank of Bengal, in a year when no less than six Calcutta houses closed their doors, came so triumphantly out of the crisis that the Directors were able to devote, from their profits, a bonus of one month's pay to the members of their staff.†

#### 7. A CAUTION.

If our Society is to achieve anything at all, we must be on our guard against vagueness in research. We must not transgress the lines which should serve to mark the boundary between ourselves and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta becomes Calcutta for us with old Job Charnock's halt for good and for evil at Suttanutti. If we forget that our subject is Imperial Calcutta in the making and in the fact, we may, I am afraid, be lost in mere diffusiveness.

#### 5. RAILWAYS.

Nor should we lose from memory the history of our railways and the men who made them. In the days when the Company had hardly as yet

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\* If I may be permitted to refer to my own work, I may say that nearly all of it is buried away in reviews or newspapers which have long since gone out of print. I propose to reprint in this journal the Clare-Wilson correspondence which appeared in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review*, of which there are probably scarcely a dozen copies now extant.

† *A History of the Bank of Bengal* is in print but it has not been issued to the public.

thrown off its traditions as a trading body, the opening up of India to railway enterprise was received with some apprehension by those who ruled at Leadenhall Street.\* It was feared that the enterprise might place the country at the mercy of private and perhaps irresponsible capitalists, and it was doubted whether the capital to float so great an undertaking could really be found. To Lord Hardinge's sagacity in this matter India is deeply indebted. Mr. George Huddleston, C.I.E., has, in his *History of the East Indian Railway* †, told us much of the early struggles of his Company, and has attracted our attention to the services of the great Engineer who made the line after having overcome all sorts of difficulties. In regard to its own expression of thanks for these services the Government remarked: "Gratifying as many such tokens of respect would doubtless be to Mr. Turnbull, they will be as nothing compared with the record which he will find in the contemplation of the kindly feelings with which future ages of India will unquestionably regard the name of the man whose genius planned and whose indomitable courage and perseverance have carried out the magnificent series of works entrusted to his care." A practical comment on this assurance of an undying fame is supplied by the fact that, in the recently published *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, the name of Turnbull is not to be found. Well may Mr. Huddleston write: "Will it be left to the Calcutta Historical Society to see that the name of this man is not forgotten?"

## 6. COMMITTEES OF EXPERTS.

It is difficult to see how this Society can do its work without accumulating a collection of old documents, works, engravings, maps, etc. As it is one of the objects of the Victoria Memorial Hall, as designed by Lord Curzon, to form a Calcutta Historical Museum, I think it would be our wisest policy to consult the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall as to the lines on which we could work without loss of force by an unnecessary duplication of one and the same effort. My friend, Mr. A. E. Harris, tells me that he was recently consulted about the restoration of a fine portrait of an unknown English lady which has found its way into the possession of a Hindu gentleman. The Society should set itself to find out where such pictures exist and, when possible, have them photographed.

The work before us is so vast that I am inclined to believe that we shall only make progress by adopting a carefully considered scheme for the division of labour and by regular meetings of a council of experts. We shall need a vigilance committee to keep its eye on vanishing Calcutta, and this

\* If a railway policy had been adopted earlier, it is improbable that the Mutiny of 1857 could have spread so widely as it did.

† G. Huddleston, C.I.E.: *History of the East Indian Railway*, Calcutta. (Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.). We may note a useful book:—S. W. MacGeorge: *Ways and Works in India*,





committee should be prepared to visit such places as the old forts at Budge-Budge and Shamnagar, the last vestiges of Dupleix's place at Ghiretti, the old Dutch fortified house which almost faces Mr. H. W. Fitze's riverside house at Konnagar, the battlefields of Biddera and Plassey, etc.

Another committee should make its business to arrange for the examination of the leases of old houses and properties in and around Calcutta. Messrs. Birkmyre Bros., two years ago, permitted me to examine the deeds of their property at Rishra: the story of that property, from the days when Warren Hastings purchased it for a mere song, is most interesting. Sir E. Cable gave me permission to examine the deeds of his firm's estate at Champdani, but from want of leisure I was unable to avail myself of the opportunity. A careful study of old leases would throw a vast amount of light on the story of our city. May I here refer to the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's *Note on early Episcopal residences in Calcutta* which is based on that study of old leases I now venture to recommend?

The suggestion made at our inaugural meeting by the Ven. Arch-deacon of Calcutta was a most valuable one. If it be adopted, we shall need a committee to arrange pilgrimages of instruction. [This Sub-Committee has been appointed.]

A very useful piece of work could be achieved by the preparation of a catalogue of portraits of Calcutta worthies. No doubt some energetic member could be found, who, during his furlough, would be prepared to enrich this catalogue by reference to what is to be found at the India Office, the National Portrait Gallery, and the print collection at the British Museum and kindred institutions.

## 7. OLD RECORDS.

An undertaking of great value would be the publication of the *older* Parochial registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials. The publication would be costly, but it is very possible that the Government of Bengal might be ready and willing to help forward an enterprise of considerable public utility.

The records once preserved at the Town Mayor's office and those at the Sheriff's office would doubtless afford a rich harvest of materials if they could be opened out to research.

## 8. HOSPITALS\* AND MEDICAL MEN.

Major Maynard, I.M.S., has recently made an appeal on behalf of the venerable and deserving Chandney Hospital. What could be more interesting or valuable than a series of articles in *Bengal Past and Present* in which the

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\* The late Lieut.-Col. D. M. Moir, whose recent death has caused so much sorrow, has compiled a most valuable note on "The Origin of the Presidency Hospital."

history of our Hospitals would be sketched? We should be glad to become acquainted with the personalities of some of the old Calcutta Doctors and hear something of their methods. We often pity those who had to undergo amputation in the days before anæsthetics and the X rays! But some of our pity might well be reserved for those who endured the heroic treatment for fever in the days before Edward Hare, sometime Inspector-General of Hospitals, Bengal, fought a campaign on behalf of the use of quinine. Here is a record case: "A Mr. B. was bled a lb: two at 9 A.M., 9th July 1864: at 2 P.M. of the same day a lb: two more was abstracted and an enema of salt and oil was administered. After sitting in a tepid bath for half-an-hour, a scruple of calomel was given; at 9 P.M., 15 grains of calomel, opii one grain, extract colocynth 15 grains, were administered; on the morning of the tenth, castor oil once more. At 7 A.M. 16 ounces of blood were taken away and antimonial wine in camphor mixture was prescribed. At noon eighteen leeches were applied to the right side; at 9 P.M. the patient was bathed in perspiration, and a blister was applied to the epigastrium." It is surprising to hear that, despite all this care, "the patient expired at noon on the 11th."\*

#### 9. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

The story of our public educational institutions also needs to be told—the fortunes of Warren Hastings' Madrasa, the life work of David Hare, the story of the Royal Military Orphanage (Kidderpore House), which is so soon to disappear. General Claude Martin has found an able and sympathetic biographer in Mr. C. S. Hill. The story of the Free School was told in a very interesting pamphlet written by Archdeacon Kitchin some nine years ago. Lushington's *History of Calcutta Charities* (1828) is now an exceedingly rare book.

These notes, I am afraid, are very disjointed, *and they have been written in haste*. They must not be supposed to represent more than a very rapid glance over a very wide field of future labour.

#### 10. THE PATHOS OF CALCUTTA HISTORY.

The interest in our great city which the formation of this Society betokens should be a cause of deep satisfaction to those who have learned to love Calcutta and to take a just pride in her imperial importance. Dr. Wilson has taught us that Calcutta is not the result of a historical freak as Rudyard Kipling would have it. Dr. Busteed has disclosed the charm of old days when Calcutta paid court to the high-born Lady Anne Monson—a great grand-daughter of Charles II., to the beautiful Miss Sanderson, and to Hastings' "elegant Marian." Sir William Hunter has reminded us of the pathetic and sacred memories attaching to the old graveyards in Park Street. While English literature lives, the tomb of Rose Aylmer will not be forgotten. Archdeacon

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\* From Lieut.-Col. E. C. Hare's *Life of Edward Hare*.

Hyde has clothed St. John's with the memories of the worthies who built that house of God and worshipped there. The ease with which we can trace the site of the Old Fort, identify the spot once covered by the Black Hole, and look once more on the Holwell Memorial is a contribution to Calcutta life made by the most vigorous and widely informed mind that ever devoted itself to the study of Calcutta's past. That in the midst of the toils of so strenuous a rule over the Indian Empire, Lord Curzon should have been able to do so much for the study of our local history and the prosecution of the memories and monuments of the past is in perfect accord with that fitness of things which at one time sends him out to rule India and then to rule, not "a home of lost causes and impossible loyalties," but the oldest and the most progressive of English Universities.

If the preservation of the memories of our citizens of our own day is to be one of the objects of our Society, there is a memory as gracious, as melting, as lovely as ever was that of Miss Sanderson or Rose Aylmer. The portrait of Lady Curzon which we must acquire for our Town Hall can only, at its best, be a poor token of what God has given us to remember in our hearts.

Calcutta, revile the place as much as you like, when the south breeze fails and the thermometer in your bed-room stands at 98° at midnight, is not without its beauty. The blood-red sun-sets behind the smokes of Howrah, the glorious river reaches in the moonlight, the blaze of flowering trees in Theatre Road and Russell Street in April, belong to the rich "harvest of a quiet eye" and can be rejoiced in. The formation of our Society is, I take it, an earnest of a growing public civic spirit—an enthusiasm for our citizenship in a city which is indeed "no mean city."

But were Calcutta a "mean city," were its population a mere tithe of what it is, were its wealth insignificant and its commerce contemptible, were its sceptre to pass to Delhi or to Bombay, were its river to run dry and its docks fall into ruins, surely the place where our own kith and kin have toiled so unremittingly, endured so much, sacrificed so much, and died so bravely is sacred ground to all who find a higher place for human sympathy than for success and arrogance. No city has so pathetic a record. Think of the inscription on the grave of William Pitt Muston in the North Park Street Cemetery "The inventor of the Army dooly who after a life of noble humanity, obtained a slow redress against local injustice from the Court of Directors, but he returned to India only to hear of the fall of his son and to sink into the grave." Again in the graveyard of St. John's Church:—

"Under this stone lyeth the remains of Charlotte Becher, the affectionate wife of Richard Becher, Esq., in the East India Company's service in Bengal. She died the 14th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1759, in the 21st year of her age, after suffering with patience a long illness occasioned by grief



for the death of an only daughter, who departed this life at Fulta, the 20th day of November, 1756. This monument is erected to her memory by her afflicted husband."

Scarcely less pathetic is the inscription on the grave, in the South Park Street Cemetery, of Richard Beecher, whom Sir W. Hunter has described as "the only Englishman who, amid calamity and misrepresentation, really strove to grapple with the great famine of 1779<sup>9</sup>."\* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that the Beechers here mentioned were the great grandparents of William Makepeace Thackeray.

Think of what the Ochterlony Monument represents. After forty-eight years of noble and successful service, Ochterlony died of a broken heart at the reversal of his policy, which, within a few months of his death, proved itself to be the only possible one. And of Lord Amherst who brought about the fatal error, it may be doubted, that deeply as the early Governor-General tasted of the cup of mingled misunderstanding and injustice, few drank of it so deeply as he did. "I used to try to console Lord Amherst," writes his wife, "by saying so long as it pleases God to grant our children and ourselves tolerable health, we must be thankful." Yes, and then "our beloved Jeff" was suddenly taken from them, and he is buried in the old cemetery at Barrackpore. And with the thought of her sorrow, one associates the memory of Lady Amherst's bravery on the night when the native troops at Barrackpore broke into mutiny (October 31, 1824), and the house itself was guarded by men of the disaffected regiments.

Or think of the first Earl Minto, hastening home to see once more his dying wife, reaching England, but dying before he could see her once more.

Or think of Lord Dalhousie, returning home too ill and worn out to defend his masterful policy of "conquest, consolidation and development," and, when almost in sight of his native land, witnessing his wife's death by exhaustion after sea-sickness.

These things move us, because they belong to a constant experience of Indian life—the graves of the little children and young mothers make our graveyards of India pathetic, and well has Sir William Hunter, not forgetful of his only little Brian, written: "In the Calcutta cemeteries, as in our station graveyards throughout Bengal, the tiny graves rise close. The price has always been paid in the lives of the little children. To many of the early fathers of Calcutta the curse of the rebuilder of Jericho came literally home: 'He shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born and in his youngest son shall be set up the gates of it.'"<sup>†</sup>

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\* For the text see *Thackeray's Guide to Calcutta*, pp. 92, 93, or C. R. Wilson: *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments Possessing Historical or Archaeological Interest*, 1896, P. 72.

† In my own parish (Kidderpore) there is a closed cemetery pathetically full of children's graves.

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A city of sunshine, a city of palaces, a city of festivities a city of incalculable commerce, a city of wide empire, a city of stimulating friendship, and social mirth, but also a city of heroic disappointments, of parted friendships and of griefs which abide. Dr. Busteed has overstrained neither language nor its propriety when he calls the subject with which our Society has to deal, a "sacred subject."

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

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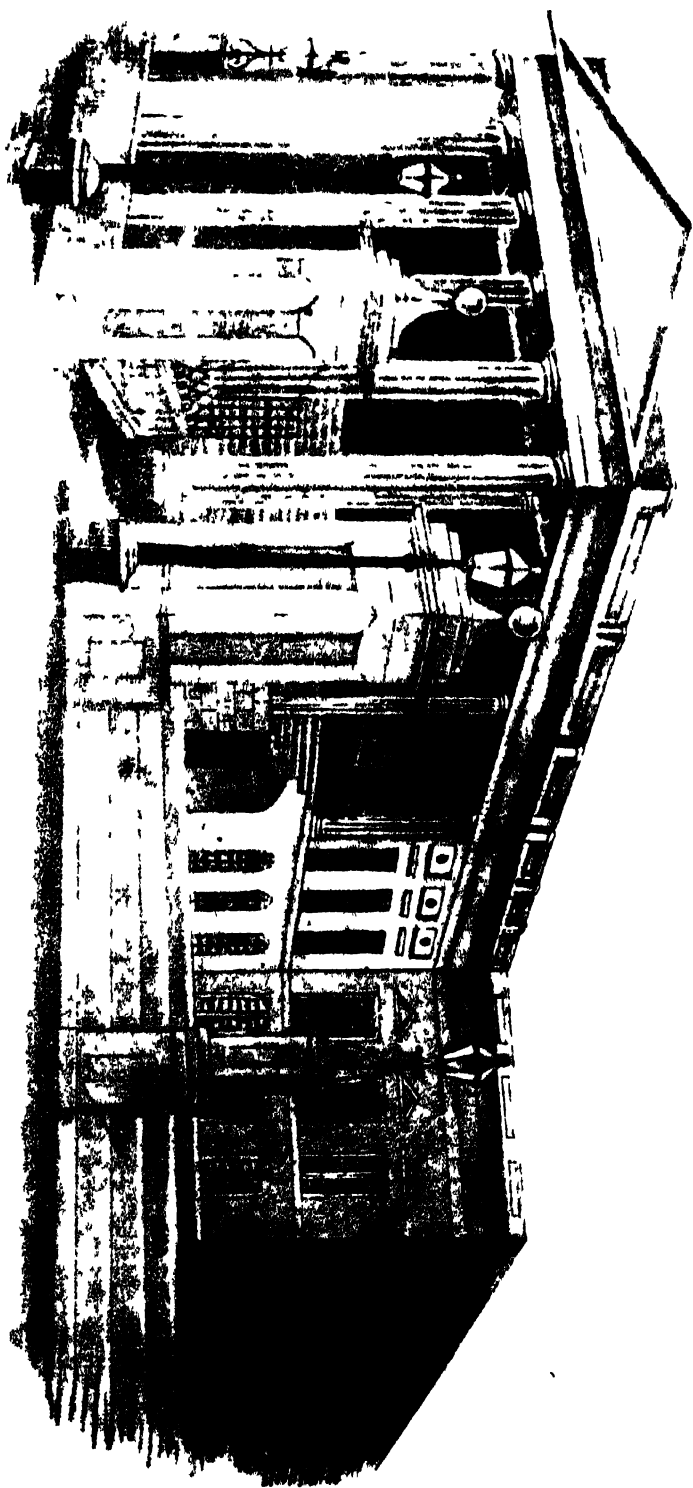


## The "Sans Souci" and its "Star."

**T**HROUGH the courtesy of Miss Perry of Barrackpore, we are enabled to reproduce a rare "contemporary print" (*circa* 1840) of the old Sans Souci Theatre in Park Street. In the building itself, allowing for certain subsequent alterations, many of our readers will not fail to recognise the St. Xavier's College of the present day. In the picture one misses, however, the cross and monogram that adorn the façade, while the distance between the portico and the road appears somewhat foreshortened, and the old-fashioned lamps have gone.

Year before last there appeared in the *Statesman* two articles, by the present writer, on "The Early History of the Calcutta Stage." From one of these the following account of the Sans Souci Theatre and its principal actress has been adapted.

The younger generation which, in Ibsen's phrase, "is knocking at the door," knows nothing of Esther Leach, who was undoubtedly the greatest, and certainly the most popular, actress that has ever adorned the Indian stage. The daughter of a British soldier named Flatman, she was born in India in 1809, the same year as Mendelssohn, Gladstone, Tennyson, Darwin, Lincoln, Poe, O. W. Holmes, "Omar" Fitzgerald, Fanny Kemble and other Immortals. She received her education at the hands of the regimental schoolmaster at Berhampore, Patrick Flinn, a corporal in the 17th Foot. She had a natural aptitude for getting pieces off by heart, and the soldiers selected her when a mere child to play such parts as *Tom Thumb*, *Priscilla Tomboy* and *Little Pickle*. The officers were enchanted with her powers and got their Adjutant to present her with a copy of Shakespeare. When very young she was married to a non-commissioned officer named John Leach, a widower with one son, and her senior by nearly seventeen years. After playing at the Dum-Dum Theatre, her fame spread to Calcutta, where she accepted an engagement at the "Chowringhee." So it was conveniently arranged that her husband should be transferred to Fort William as Garrison Sergeant-Major. He is not the only man, in India especially, who has owed his advancement to his wife! The other actresses on the Calcutta boards were "persons of very moderate capacity. . . . Esther Leach was singularly gifted. Extremely pretty, very intelligent, modest and amiable, possessing a musical voice and good taste, she adapted herself to all the requirements of the drama." Such again (in his suppressed *Memoirs of a Journalist*) is the opinion of J. H. Stocqueler, a friendly critic—too friendly perhaps, thought an unkind world at the time! Entirely



THEATRE CALCUTTA

1888

Wellman & Pines



self-taught, she had never, previous to her short visit to England, seen any other boards than those on which she played. When she came out, with her two younger children, by the *Justina* in June, 1839, the first news that reached her was the fate of the "Chowringhee", which had been burnt down on May 31, 1839. She immediately set to work and opened a temporary theatre. This was at the corner of Government Place, East, and Waterloo Street, the site which Long allots to Sir John Clavering's house, although Dr. Busteed says the General died in his house in Mission Row. The site is now occupied by the Ezra Mansions. At the time of which we are writing the upper flat was St. Andrew's Library (W. Thacker & Co.) and the lower flat was transformed by Mrs. Leach into a playhouse.

Meanwhile, as nobody seemed disposed to undertake the task of reconstructing the Chowringhee Theatre, the land was sold, and Mr. Stocqueler had been busy raising a subscription to erect another in a part of the town more fashionable than that where the temporary theatre was situated. To this project the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, contributed Rs. 1,000, but as much more money than had been collected was required to complete the building, it had to be raised by the mortgage of the property and all it was to contain. Eventually the building, which is now St. Xavier's College, in Park Street, was completed in May, 1840. Its architect was a Eurasian gentleman, Mr. J. W. Collins, who, but a few days before the opening of the new theatre, was laid in the then new cemetery in Lower Circular Road. The cost of fittings, including scenery, wardrobe, chandeliers, etc., was about Rs. 80,000, of which sum the public had contributed only Rs. 16,000, the balance falling upon Mrs. Leach. The dimensions were about 200 feet in length and over 50 in breadth. A handsome portico in front, covering a fine flight of steps, led into a spacious saloon. The auditorium comprised a pit and tier of boxes in which five rows of armchairs were raised one above the other amphitheatrically, the gallery running behind. The stage occupied 28 ft. of breadth and 50 of depth, the space concealed from the audience above and below being appropriated to the green-rooms, etc. The performances continued throughout the year, punkahs of course being pulled during the summer. It was advertised that children under 12 would be admitted at half-price. On the opening night, Monday, March 8, 1841, under the patronage and in the immediate presence of the Governor-General and suite, Sheridan Knowles's *The Wife* was enacted. Mrs. Leach, who took the part of Mariana, recited a metrical prologue written for the occasion by J. W. Kaye, afterwards Sir John Kaye, the historian of the Sepoy War.

For two years Mrs. Leach was nominally proprietress of the Sans Souci, but the expenses incurred by the management, many of them incidental to a new undertaking, plunged her into difficulties which rendered it necessary to

make arrangements by which the concern passed into other hands. Her services were at once engaged as a member of the Company on a liberal salary. Among the amateurs who had joined the new theatre were Mr. H. W. Torrens, a versatile Bengal civilian, and his biographer, Mr. James Hume, afterwards a Magistrate of Calcutta. Mr. Stocqueler had also imported some actors from England. They were, to begin with, a Mr. Barry and his wife. This gentleman developed a capricious voice, which was given to deserting him at a critical point in spite of his inhalations of vinegar-steam. Whenever it played him this trick he had to wind up with a dumb show. Then there was Mrs. Deacle who, as Miss Caroline Darling, had made "a gorgeous Cleopatra" at the Adelphi, and, according to Stocqueler, "had not her devotion to Bacchus interfered with her attention to the rites of Thalia and Melpomene, she might have been valuable." There was also a Miss Cowley, who afterwards (1846) became Mrs. Marshall, and regarding whom Miss Eden, after an enjoyable night at the play, wrote in her *Letters from India* :—"A little Miss C—— is one of the best comic actresses I have seen and had great success \* \* \* She is very ugly." A farewell dinner was given at the Theatre to Mr. Henry Meredith Parker, a talented member of the Bengal Civil Service, on the eve of his retirement from India in 1842.

The saddest part of our story now remains to be told. On November 2, 1843, Mr. James Vining, an actor of English reputation, made his first appearance in India, as Shylock, to an overflowing house; and the after-piece was a farce, *The Handsome Husband*, in which Mrs. Leach was playing the part of Mrs. Wyndham. Amid all the laughter and merriment, while waiting for her cue at the upper right-hand entrance to the stage, Mrs. Leach's dress caught fire from an oil-lamp, one of a row placed on the floor, and in an instant she was in a blaze. For a moment she strove to extinguish the flame, but it was hopeless, and she rushed on the stage calling for help just as the audience, alarmed by the light, had risen in the greatest excitement, in the belief that the house was on fire. Assistance was promptly afforded, including the professional services of Doctors O'Shaughnessy and Thomson who happened to be among the audience—the *Bengal Harkaru* adds that Dr. Robert Stuart was also present. She was instantly thrown down and the flames extinguished, but not before she had been severely burnt on both hands, arms and shoulders. Of course the curtain fell instantly, and the injured lady was carried to her dressing-room and thence to her residence adjoining the theatre, where the Archbishop's house is now. During her sufferings she appeared to rally once or twice, but her own impression at the time was that her injuries would prove fatal. She settled such worldly affairs as were on her mind, received the visits of two ministers of religion, and had for days desired to be released from her sufferings. Perfectly sensible to the last, she passed away at 1 o'clock on

Saturday morning, November 18, 1843, aged 34. Her husband had died seven years before, while on pension, and she left three orphan children: a boy of twelve, John Bolton Francis, in England, and two girls, Esther Alice (afterwards Mrs. Anderson) and Julia, out here, all unprovided for. The proprietress, Madame Nina Baxter, gave up the house for their benefit on November 22, but the result was not gratifying. A subscription list on their behalf was opened by Mr. T. P. Morrell, a Calcutta merchant, one of the four executors under the will (another being Babu Moti Lal Seal), and it was headed by a donation from Sir Lawrence Peel, C.J. Mrs. Leach was buried in the Military Cemetery, Bhowanipore, but there is no inscription to her memory. She has been styled the "Indian Siddons," although as a rule lofty tragedy was beyond her reach. She excelled, however, in emotional parts requiring tenderness and pathos rather than display of the more violent passions.

Soon after her death a Mr. and Mrs. Ormond, who were on their way out, arrived by the *Bentinck* to join the Company. The proprietress next leased out the Sans Souci for three months to a French Operatic Company. The last regular performance, when the curtain rose on *Othello*, enacted for Madame Baxter's own benefit, took place on April 24, 1844. Occasional performances, however, continued to be given there until 1846, when the building was sold for Rs. 40,000 to Archbishop (or, more correctly, Bishop) Carew. It became in 1847 St. John's, and in 1860 St. Xavier's, College. It has since been considerably enlarged and added to.

E. W. M.





# John French and James Pattle.



R. BARROW has kindly given me permission to print the following letter addressed by him to myself:—

*Calcutta, May 2, 1907.*

DEAR SIR,—Your letter to the *Englishman* of yesterday, regarding old Mr. Blaquiére, reminds me of another old Anglo-Indian who was alive at that time and who, I believe, holds the record for length for service under Government, at any rate in the Indian Civil Service. This was old John French who entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1796, having been actually appointed to the service by the Board of Directors in 1794 and died *still in the service* in November 1856 after 60 years' actual service. Think of it! He served under Wellesley and Cornwallis and saw as a Junior Officer the fall of Tippoo Sahib. He had 38 years' service when Macaulay came out as Law Member of Council and probably looked on the latter as a precocious boy (Macaulay was only 34 at time of his arrival), and was still in the service with Thoby Prinsep and William Macpherson. Promotion came slowly to John French. At 44 years' service he was appointed *Additional* Judge of Tirhoot. One wonders how senior they would have expected him to be before making him a full Judge!—But more probably he had offended the powers that were. So old was French that when he died there was not a single annuitant on the Civil Fund (retired and left India ages before) who was his senior. During his last years of service, 1850-56, he seems to have fallen on evil days as he was placed "out of employ" but refused to retire. In those days this seems to have been possible. This old civilian was in Tirhoot, 1840-50, and probably was never a regular resident of Calcutta, but he too must almost have "seen the *maidan* a rice field" on landing here. Some details of this old man's career and the reasons for his "record" service would be interesting. Perhaps Sir H. T. Prinsep might know something about him. I would add that there were giants as regards service in those days. Two contemporaries of French's, old Mr. James Pattle, Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, and William Blunt, Senior Member of the Board of Customs, served for 55 and 53 years, respectively. The first came out in 1790 and the last in 1797. One is apt to imagine that our predecessors died young from the effects of the climate and careless living, but these instances show that this was often not the case. Apologising for troubling you,

Yours truly,

O. F. BARROW.

THE REV. W. K. FIRMINER,  
*Kidderpore Vicarage,  
Calcutta.*

To Mr. Barrow's interesting letter I may venture to append the following note based on information kindly supplied by a member of the Calcutta Historical Society :—

*James Pattle.*—Died at Calcutta, September 4, 1845, aged 69 years, after nearly 55 years' service. He married Adeline, a daughter of the Chevalier Antone de Etang, of the order of St. Louis. The Chevalier, formerly a page at the Court of Marie Antoinette, had fled to Pondicherry to escape arrest under a *lettre de cachet*. He died at Ghazipore in 1840. The daughters of the Pattles were famous in Calcutta as "the beautiful Miss Pattles." "You must know," wrote Mr. F. Leveson-Gower of his visit to Calcutta in 1850, "that, wherever you go in India, you meet with some member of the Pattle family. Every other man has married, and every other woman has been, a Miss Pattle." The names of seven husbands of the Misses Pattle may be here mentioned :—

Lieutenant-General Colin Mackenzie. [Not the Surveyor-General whose portrait hangs in our Town Hall, but, as I conjecture, the gallant soldier who, on account of his religious character, was known as "The Moolah." He retired in 1873 and died October 22, 1881. It might be possible to procure for our Society photographs of portraits of General Colin Mackenzie and his wife.]

Henry Thoby Prinsep, 1792-1878. Sir Henry Thoby Prinsep, who retired in March 1904, is, on his mother's side, a grandson of James Pattle and a great-grandson of Marie Antoinette's page.

Charles Hay Cameron, Macaulay's co-adjutor on the Indian Law Commission.

Henry Vincent Bayley, Judge of the High Court from 1862 to 1873.

The Earl Somers.

Dr. Jackson, M.D.

John Warrender Dalrymple, B.C.S.

There is a monument to Pattle and his wife in St. John's Church. In accordance with his own wish, his remains were conveyed in a cask of spirits to England and buried in the family vault (Camberwell). There is a gruesome tradition that, on the voyage, the cask was accidentally opened to the horror of some who had been unaware of the nature of its contents.

Mr. Pattle was at one time the owner of No. 5, Russell Street, the Episcopal Palace where Bishops Heber, James, and Wilson lived, and Bishop Turner died. By the courtesy of the Government of India, the Editor is enabled to print here a letter of Pattle's relative to the value of his house in Russell Street in 1838 :—

FORT WILLIAM *the 25th April, 1838.*

GENTLEMEN,—Having understood that you have been instructed to inform the Government at what price you think it would be expedient to purchase the

house rented on lease for the residence of the Lord Bishop, I beg to acquaint you that in naming to the Government 75,000 sicca rupees as the minimum price at which I was inclined to dispose of this property, I was guided by the following valuation ascertained by me to have been put by the proprietors as other houses in the vicinity and elsewhere. First the house now occupied by Mr. H. M. Parker, No. 26, Chowringhee Road, and rented at Co's Rs. 453-5-4 is valued by the proprietor Baboo Nubkissin Sing at Co's Rs. one lack. The house now occupied by the Hon'ble Colonel Morison, No. 25, Chowringhee Road, rented at 400 Co's Rs. per month is valued by the proprietor Baboo Gunga Persand Ghose at 65,000 sicca Rs. The next house now occupied by Dr. Cameron and rented at 260 Co's Rs. per month is valued by the same proprietor at 35,000 sicca Rs.

The house recently vacated by Mr. F. T. Halliday and now occupied by Mr. E. Boswell adjoining the Bishop's Palace is rented at 265 Co's Rs. per month and is valued by Messrs. Colvin Ansle and Co. at not less than 54,000 sicca Rs.

The house now occupied by Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Harrington Street, is rented at 350 sicca Rs. per month, and was purchased by the proprietor Baboo Nubkissin Sing for sicca Rs. 70,000.

The house in Park Street lately occupied by Mr. Henry Shakespear at a monthly rent of 400 Co's Rs. was purchased by Raja Kaly Sunker Ghosal for a lack of sicca rupees.

The Sudder Board Office formerly Sudder Dewanny Adaulat (before the expensive additions and alterations since made) was first rented by the Government at 650 sicca Rs. per month and afterwards, in 1816, anterior to the rise in the value of property and when Government interest was at 6 per cent., purchased for 80,000 Rs.

The house occupied for the office of the General and Financial Department, the rent of which cannot be assumed at less than 400 sicca rupees per month, was purchased by the Government of Mr. Trotter in 1828 for 95,000 sicca rupees.

The house occupied by the Hon'ble W. W. Bird, Esq., No. 35, Chowringhee Road, was sold by me for 75,000 Co's Rs. in June 1836. Messrs. Jenkins, Law and Co., at the instance of others, enquired of me whether I would take 95,000 sicca Rs. for the Bishop's Palace, and were informed in answer that I expected a lac of sicca rupees.

It is notorious that house property when pledged or mortgaged as security for money borrowed is taken at most at two-thirds of its estimated value and often at half its estimated value. I therefore consider it to be worth mentioning that the Bishop's Palace was taken on mortgage in 1828 as security for 65,000 sicca Rs., in 1830 as security for 85,000 sicca Rs. and in 1832 as security for a lac of sicca Rs.

On the latter occasion (unsolicited) I added the Title Deeds of a small property I have in Calcutta, but these additional title deeds were shortly afterwards returned to me by the mortgagee.

The above circumstances I mention with the view of assisting your Committee in judging whether the price at which the property has been offered to the Government is moderate or otherwise, I am fully aware that the valuation of house property is capricious, and that it will not be easy to say at any time what is the true value. I trust, however, that the above comparison of values is calculated to satisfy any one that I have offered the property under consideration at a moderate price.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

J. PATTLE.

CHOWRINGHEE, *7th April 1838.*

P.S.—I request you will with your report to Government do me the favour to send up this letter and the ground plan and elevation of the Bishop's Palace which I sent to you.

This letter will be valued by those who are endeavouring to study the history of Calcutta house rents. The house referred to as that of Wilberforce Bird is, of course, the present Bishop's Palace, to which Bishop Wilson made many additions. Of H. M. Parker and his verses we hope to write at no distant date.

It is worth while noticing that a Mr. Edward Pattle arrived in India on the 31st of October 1692,\* and was a member of Council on "The Rotation Government"† (1704). He became chief of the factory at Patna in 1710, was recalled in 1713, but did not leave Patna till January 1715. He died at Calcutta, 3rd of March, 1715. His name appears on the list of the Council which petitioned for the consecration of St. Anne's Church in 1709.

W. K. F.



\* Job Charnock died 10th of January 1693.

† See *below*. P. 37.

# A Short History of Old Fort William in Bengal.

[*Editorial Preface.*—We venture to reprint here the first of a series of articles by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson. They were written for *Indian Church Review* of 1901 and 1902 which has long since been out of print and which cannot be found in any public library. These articles were intended by Dr. Wilson as a forecast of that introduction to his *Old Fort William* in the *Indian Record Series* which he did not live to write. The copyright of these articles is most strictly reserved. The student will, of course, read these articles side by side with the authorities cited by Dr. Wilson in his *English in Bengal* and in his *Old Fort William*.]

## *How Fort William Came to be.*

I N the present article, and in others to follow, I hope to trace briefly the history of the first Fort William in Bengal, and of the early defences of Calcutta, a subject of more than usual interest at the present time when His Excellency the Viceroy is proposing to restore the monument erected by Holwell to the memory of those who perished in the Black Hole. Part of what I have to say is quite new, extracted for the first time from the archives in the India Office; other parts of my story are old. I have myself already written at length elsewhere about the coming of the English to Bengal, and the building of old Fort William; but so much misconception still prevails on these points, that it is quite worth while going over the history again. If the common opinion about these matters were true, if old Fort William was the work of thoughtless, worthless adventurers, and the Indian Empire the outcome of chance and accident, I, for my part, do not see how such views can be reconciled with scientific theories of history, much less with a belief in an over-ruling Providence rewarding men according to their works. But the truth is far otherwise. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the English settlement at Calcutta was fortuitous and ill-considered. Nothing can be further from the facts than the generally accepted picture of "the mid-day halt of Charnock" growing to be a city, "chance-directed, chance-erected" "spreading chaotic like the fungus." Had the English confined themselves to "mere trade," had the merchant remained "meek and tame, where the timid foot first halted," there would have been no Calcutta and no British India.\* On the contrary, the final settlement of the English on the east bank of the

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\* The lines to which Dr. Wilson refers occur in "A Tale of Two Cities" in *Departmental Duties*:—

"Once two hundred years ago, meek and tame

Where his timid foot first halted there he stayed,

Till mere trade

Grew to Empire and he sent his armies forth,

South and North;

Till the country from Peshawar to Ceylon

Was his own.



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# *North William at Annapolis*

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Hughli was the fruit of more than half a century of efforts, the achievement of a band of able and resolute men, among whom Job Charnock has been given rightly the first place. The end which has crowned their work is the consequence and proof of its original soundness. An empire is not gained like a prize in a lottery.

No doubt the English came to the country originally as simple traders. They expected to find a settled government, and they supposed that, if once they could come to terms with the rulers of India and obtain a grant allowing them to trade, they would be henceforth allowed to carry out their business in peace. But in these expectations they were altogether disappointed. The government of India at this period was not strong but weak. Even in the palmiest days of the Mogul rule, even on the royal road from Agra to Delhi, travellers and merchants had to band together for safety, and to secure themselves every night in some fortified place. And if such was the state of things close to the capital, what sort of order could be expected in the remote province of Bengal? Even if he wished, the Mogul emperor could not always protect the English merchants from local acts of violence and wrong. Nor did the Mogul emperor himself always wish to do so. From time to time, as new emperors arose, or new policies came into fashion, the attitude of the government of Delhi changed. Thus, after many many years of bitter experience, the truth was gradually borne in upon the English that the Mogul emperor had neither the will nor the power to protect them steadily and constantly from oppression and extortion.

In 1633 the English formed settlements at Hariharapur\* and Balasor, in

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Thus the mid-day halt of Charnock—more's the pity  
Grew a city;  
As the fungus sprouts chaotic from its bed,  
So it spread—  
Chance-directed, chance-erected, laid and built  
On the silt.  
Palace, myre, hovel—poverty and pride  
Side by side;  
And above the packed and pestilential town  
Death looked down."

But against Dr. Wilson's just repudiation of Kipling's chance theory, must be set the hideous fact that between August 1690 and January 1690-91, in a European population of 1,250 there were 450 deaths. The conditions of Kidderpur at the present day show how slowly science and human energy prevails over squalor and disease.—W. K. F.

\* The modern Harīpur Gar at the mouth of the Patua river in Orissa, eleven miles from Balikuda and about twenty-five miles from Cuttack. Hariharapur, the city of the "Tawny one" and the "Grasping one," i.e., the city of Vishnu and Civa combined. *English in Bengal*, Vol. I. P., 2. N. For the account of the journey of the eight Englishmen from Masulipatam see Wilson's *English in Bengal*, Vol. I. Chapter I, where is reproduced William Burton's account of the voyage, originally published in 1638, and reproduced in Osborne's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 1752, and the enlarged edition of "Hakluyt" of 1809-12.—W. K. F.



Orissa, and in 1651 came up the river to Hughli, full of confidence in the goodwill and good order of the Mogul empire.\* Both Shah Jahan, the ruler at Delhi, and Shah Shuja, his representative in Bengal, seemed inclined to befriend the English. In less than ten years Shah Jahan was deposed by his son, the suspicious Aurangzeb. India was torn by fratricidal wars, Shah Shuja was driven to his death, and Mir Jumla, the newly made governor of Bengal, began to stop the English boats on the Ganges, and vexatiously hamper their trade. In the years which followed, years of growing anxiety and danger, the English were forced more and more to consider in what way they could best protect themselves and their trade against the oppressions of local officers. Experience showed that treaties and agreements were of no avail. Mere threats and demonstrations of force were likewise useless. The English were at last forced to the inevitable conclusion. "We must protect ourselves, we must break with the Indian government, we must seize some convenient post and fortify it." This view seems to have been repeatedly urged upon the Court of Directors at home by William Hedges, the first independent governor of the English settlements in Bengal. More than once in his diary, Hedges repeats his opinion. "The Company's affairs," he says, "will never be better, but will always grow worse and worse with continual patching. We must resolve to quarrel with these people and build a fort on the island of Saugor, at the mouth of the river, and run the hazard of losing one year's trade in the Bay of Bengal."

At first, the Directors were not prepared to accept the suggestion. In their despatches of the 21st of December 1683, in which they ordered the dismissal of Hedges from his post, they discussed at length the view of "our late Agent and some of our Captains, that there is no way to mend our condition but by seizing and fortifying one of those pleasant islands in the Ganges about the Braces." To this proposal they had many objections. It would be too expensive. It would enrage the Mogul, who would be assisted by the Dutch. It would be better to attack the Mogul from Bombay; or if you must begin a war in Bengal, then why not seize Chittagong? But in spite of all objections the idea gradually took hold of the English minds at home as in Bengal, and in its letters the Court recurred more than once to the scheme of getting possession of Chittagong. In the end, the Directors resolved to break with the Mogul. They obtained from James II permission to retaliate their injuries, and reimburse themselves for the loss of the privileges by hostilities against Shayista Khan and Aurangzeb, and in 1686 commenced a vigorous attack upon both sides of the Indian peninsula. Orders were sent to the governor

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[\* Some writers ascribe the origin of British trade in Bengal to a firman supposed to have been granted by Shah Jahan on the 2nd of February 1634. For a criticism of this legend see *English in Bengal*, Pp. 12-13. N. 4.—W. K. F.]

of Bombay to withdraw from Surat and the other ports on the west coast ; and to direct his cruisers to seize every Mogul ship and vessel that could be met with. To commence hostilities in the Bay of Bengal, they sent thither the largest force which they had yet displayed in Indian seas. The fleet was to sail to Balasor, and there take on board the agent and the principal men of the council of the Bay. An ultimatum was to be sent to the nabob at Dacca ; and if, as was probable, no satisfactory answer was received, the bulk of the force was to proceed to Chittagong. Here "after summons, if the fort, town and territory thereunto belonging be not forthwith delivered to our Lieutenant-Colonel Job Charnock, we would have our forces land, seize and take the said town, fort, and territory by force of arms." The place, when captured, was to be made "as strong as the art and invention of man can extend to," and Job Charnock was to be "Governor of our Fort, Town, and Territory of Chyttegam."

These instructions Job Charnock attempted to carry out but in the spirit though not in the letter. In October, 1686, after some fighting, he left Hughli and withdrew with all the English forces to Sutanuti, some twenty miles further down on the east bank of the river, where a trade centre was growing up, and not far from Betor, where the Portuguese used to anchor their ships. From Sutanuti he retired still further down the river to Hijili, a swampy, pestilential island lying on the west bank of the river, where the English were surrounded by enemies and died of fever by the score. Thence, after a good deal of fighting and negotiation, Charnock returned up the river to Ulubaria, and, in September 1687, he again came to Sutanuti with all his ships.

Job Charnock, the Company's agent in Bengal, had served his masters zealously and faithfully in India since the year 1656. His local knowledge and good judgment, together with his recent experiences, had doubtless already shown him that Sutanuti would be the most suitable site for the new fort and settlement of the English in Bengal. Close by, at Govindpur, was a colony of weavers who migrated thither from Satgaon near Hughli. The position was the furthest point up the river to which sea-going ships could be easily brought. It was surrounded on three sides by water, and could only be attacked by land from the north. Between it and the forces of continental India flowed the river, a river of which the English, as a sea power, might always have full command.

But the orders of the Court of Directors at home for the time overruled Charnock's wishes and intentions. Towards the end of the year 1687 Captain . William Heath arrived in Bengal with fresh forces and fresh instructions, which enabled him to supersede Charnock, withdraw the English forces from Sutanuti, attack Balasor, attempt to attack Chittagong, and at last sail away to Madras.

These extraordinary proceedings of Captain Heath, conjoined with the defiant attitude of the English at Madras and Bombay, produced almost

equally extraordinary results. At first the emperor Aurangzeb had been greatly incensed at the audacity of the English, and in an outburst of anger had ordered his servants to extirpate these infidels from his dominion and to seize and destroy all their goods. But his anger, it is said, cooled on reflection. The commerce carried on by the Company enriched his treasuries, and he could not well afford to lose it. Yet he could not help thinking, from the violent and unusual conduct of Captain Heath, that he had somehow driven the English to desperation, and that they intended to abandon Bengal altogether. Besides, their power, though insignificant by land, was formidable by sea. Their ships might interrupt the trade with Arabia, and hinder the faithful in their yearly pilgrimages to Mecca. He forced himself, therefore, to swallow his resentment and retrace his steps. "You must understand," he wrote to the nabob of Bengal, "that it has been the good fortune of the English to repent them of their irregular past proceedings and not being in their former greatness, they have by their attorneys, petitioned for their lives, and a pardon for their faults which, out of my extraordinary favour towards them, I have accordingly granted. Therefore upon receipt here of my orders, you must not create them any further trouble, but let them trade in your government as formerly; and this order I expect you see strictly observed."

The newly-made nabob of Bengal, to whom these orders were addressed, was Ibrahim Khan, a lover of books and a man of peace. Without military abilities he desired to administer justice with strict impartiality, and to encourage agriculture and commerce. The policy of the emperor was quite in accordance with his natural disposition. He at once set at liberty the Company's agents who were confined at Dacca, and wrote letters to Charnock at Madras inviting him to return to Bengal. After some hesitation, the English resolved to trust these promises of friendship and protection. In August, 1690, Charnock with his council and factors, escorted by thirty soldiers, arrived in the Bay and sent forward Stanley and Mackrith to occupy Hughli. On Sunday, the 24th, at noon, the wanderers found themselves once more at Sutanuti.

Ibrahim Khan, whom the English now styled "the most famously just and good nabob," was true to his word. The restored merchants were received with respect by the local officers. On the 10th of February, 1691, an imperial order was issued under the seal of Asad Khan, allowing the English to continue their trade contentedly in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 yearly in lieu of all dues. A large number of Armenians and Portuguese soon gathered round the English, who assigned each nation its quarter in the growing town, and a piece of land to build a church on.

The many hardships he had undergone during his long sojourn in India now seem to have taken effect upon Job Charnock. His health gave way

habits of indolence crept over him, his spirit failed him, his temper grew moody and savage, the reins of government slipped from his relaxing fingers. He died on the 10th of January, 1693, and lies buried under the mausoleum which his son-in-law built for him in the heart of Calcutta. Amongst the crowd of eager workers and men of business few remember the man whose perseverance and foresight established this great centre of English trade in the East. But he never cared for the praise of men. Honest, disinterested, clear-eyed, and fearless, he appealed, and, in the inscription on his tomb, still appeals to the verdict, not of man, but of Christ, the Judge for Whose coming he is looking.

On Charnock's death, the settlement fell into such disorders that Sir John Goldsborough, the Company's Commissary-General, had to come from Madras to reform abuses. He curtailed expenses, organized the different offices, and marked out a place for the fort. But in little more than three months' time, the worthy Commissary-General died. He had sent to Dacca for Charles Eyre, a young man thirty-three years old, of whom men reported well, and left orders that he should be made agent in Bengal. Yet, for fear of opposition, these orders were not made public till two months later, when Eyre arrived, and was formally installed on the 26th January, 1694. The young agent justified expectation in doing his best to maintain good order and good policy. He respected the memory of the father of Calcutta, whose daughter Mary he married, and over whose remains he raised the massive octagonal mausoleum which still stands in St. John's churchyard.

#### *The Building of Fort William.*

As Charnock is the father of Calcutta, so is Eyre the founder of Fort William. In 1696 a rebellion, headed by a Hindu landowner, Subha Singh, and by a malcontent Afghan officer, broke out in Burdwan, and through the supineness of the bookish nabob, Ibrahim, was allowed to spread, till by March, 1697, all the land west of the Ganges was in the hands of the malcontents. The European merchants on the Hughli, alarmed for the safety of their settlements, wrote to Dacca for permission to fortify them. The nabob, in reply, bade them defend themselves, and thus tacitly permitted the construction of the forts at Chinsura, Chandannagar and Calcutta.

On the 23rd of December, 1696, the English in Calcutta, finding that the rebels who occupied the opposite bank of the river, were "growing abusive," ordered the *Diamond* to ride at anchor off Sutanuti point, and keep them from crossing the stream. They also lent the *Thomas* to the governor of the Thana fort, south of Calcutta, to lie off it as a guard ship.

On the receipt of instructions from Madras they set to work to build walls and bastions round their factory, and in January, 1697, reported that they were

employed in fortifying themselves, and wanted proper guns for the points. In May the English, finding that Zabardast Khan, the Nabob's son, had dispersed the rebels, dismissed their fifty native gunners, but continued building their fort. At the end of the year Ibrahim Khan was replaced by a grandson of Aurangzeb, Prince Azimu-sh-shan, from whom Eyre purchased important concessions. In July 1698, for the sum of Rs. 16,000, Azimu-sh-shan gave the English a patent allowing them to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanuti and Govindpur. The grant, after some delay, in order that it might be countersigned by the treasurer, was carried into execution, and the English Company thus gained a definite status in the eyes of the Indian governors. As Collector, or *Zamindar* of the three towns, it paid the Mogul an annual rent of Rs. 12,000, and was free to tax and govern the place almost as it pleased.

In 1699, Eyre, on returning to England, found his masters struggling for very existence with a new rival Company. Eager to improve their position, and impressed with their late agent's abilities, they made Bengal a separate presidency, called the factory Fort William, in honour of the new king, had Eyre knighted and appointed him first president. With him there were to be four members of Council, John Beard, second and accountant, Nathaniel Halsey, third, and warehouse keeper, Jonathan White, fourth, and purser marine, Ralph Sheldon, fifth, and receiver of revenues. The president was empowered to fill up vacancies, subject to the approbation of the Court, promotion being by seniority, and no servant was to be dismissed except by an order of the Court. Taxes were to be imposed and levied at Fort William according to the Madras system. Eyre was also instructed to enlarge and complete the fortifications begun in 1696, or, if he thought good, he might construct a new fort in the shape of a pentagon. If that were not possible, then the present factory was to be made strong, particularly in its timbers. At the angles additional buildings, like warehouses, were to be erected to serve as bastions. The windows might be used as loopholes.

The period of Eyre's second rule only lasted from 26th of May, 1700, to the 7th of January, 1701. Love-sick and home-sick, he gladly made over the work of continuing the fortification to his second in Council.

Eyre began the fort, but Beard laid down its main outlines. As first designed, it was of a very humble character. From the fact that "they wanted *ten* guns for present use," it may be inferred that in 1697 only one bastion was in existence, and a consideration of the construction of the fort shows that this was the north-east bastion. There can be little doubt that the northern division of the fort represents the earliest portion of it, which occupied the site marked out by a mud-wall by Sir John Goldsborough in 1693. At the north-east angle of this site Charles Eyre, in 1696-97, constructed his bastion, a square

tower with hard masonry walls more than six feet thick, built to look like a warehouse for fear of exciting the jealousy of the Mogul. The rest of the site was protected by three or four brick walls. Within were placed the buildings necessary to the factory. They were probably of the meanest description. The storeplaces, outhouses, and stables, consisted of nothing but mud-walls and thatched roofs. Brick and mud were the materials used for the armoury and the factory, of which the former may have occupied the centre of the enclosed space, while the latter seems to have stood on the south side, on the site of the dividing block of buildings which afterwards cut the fort into two. John Beard's house and garden occupied the spot where the north-west bastion was afterwards built.

Eyre could have done but little during his short second administration, but his successor, John Beard, in the next two years, made such substantial additions to the fort that he believed it strong enough to ward off any attack from the country powers. These important additions were three in number. In the first place, upon the hasty departure of Sir Charles Eyre, Beard greatly extended the fort to the south, and enclosed with strong walls the second and larger division of the fort. In the second place, abandoning all pretence of building mere warehouses, he constructed a new bastion at the south-east angle of the enlarged area, and encased the old square bastion at the north-east angle with planks and salients to give it a more proper military shape. The remains of these works, now buried beneath a mass of modern erections, have, from time to time, been brought to light by excavations made in the course of laying down new foundations. In 1883, Mr. Roskell Bayne examined the site of the north-east angle of the fort. The masonry work was found to be of good material, and very hard to break into. The encasing walls of the north-east bastion were some ten feet thick. "They were battered," says the engineer, "with a fall of about one in ten, and the outer faces were finished with a thin coat of lime plaster of a rich crimson tint and reticulated in imitation of stone works, the stones being about one foot six inches long, by about nine to ten inches deep." In the third place, in 1702, Beard began to build in the middle of the southern extension of the fort the new factory, or governor's house, which, a few years later, excited the admiration of Captain Hamilton. This fine "piece of architecture" was put together with some deliberation, and before it was completed, Beard had ceased to rule over Calcutta. The two rival East Indian Companies united, and it was decided that Bengal should be placed under a Council of eight, with two Chairmen presiding in alternate weeks.

The "rotation government," as it was called, came into power on the 1st of February, 1704. "At ten o'clock in the morning," says the consultation book of the new Council, "being the time appointed by President Beard to

deliver possession of the garrison and dead stock, &c., to us, we waited on him accordingly and being met in the old Company's consultation room, all the Company's servants and the free inhabitants of Calcutta being present, President Beard wished us joy of our new trust. But his long indisposition having weakened and disabled him from speaking, he desired Mr. Sheldon to make a public declaration that, in pursuance of the order from the Court of Committees, and in conformity to the Deed of Union and Quinquupartite Indenture, he does now resign the fort and all the dead stock, together with all the lands, and privileges, to us, the established Council for the management of all the united Company's affairs in Bengal." President Beard then received the keys of the fort from the ensign, the chief of the guard, and gave them to the new Council, by whom they were given back again to the ensign to keep. After the ceremony, all the English in Calcutta were entertained at the expense of the Council. Then all the members of the Council except two proceeded to Hughli to take possession of the dead stock there.

In 1704, the factory or governor's house was still being built, and there were but few good rooms finished in it. In fact, the first floor was not roofed in till just before the rainy season of that year. It was probably not till the middle of 1706 that the house was completed. This building formed three sides of a quadrangle. The west and principal face was 245 feet long. In the centre of this face was the main door, and from it a colonnade ran down to the watergate and the landing stage. Entering the doorway and turning to your left, you ascended the great flight of stairs which led to the hall and the principal rooms. The south-east wings contained the apartments of the governor. A raised cloister ran down the three sides of the court enclosed within the building.

On the completion of the governor's house, or new factory, the old factory house, which had long been falling into decay, and which had been so much injured by recent storms that it had given way in places, and was hardly fit for habitation, was ordered to be pulled down, and in its place, it would seem, the single-storeyed dividing block of buildings was erected, which served for "the lodgings of the young gentlemen in the Company's service."

In 1707, on the death of Aurangzeb, the rotation government took advantage of the confusion which followed to build two regular bastions on the waterside correspondent with those on the landside. The military paymaster was ordered "to see it well-performed out of hand, and to that end to take all the materials in the town that are necessary thereto, that it may be quickly erected, for we may not meet with such opportunity again." The signs of haste were still visible in the north-west bastion when its remains were dug up in 1883. Its courses of bricks were irregular, its outlines confused, its dimensions contracted. In building this bastion the rotation government

had to take over a portion of the grounds of John Beard's house, which extended over to this angle of the fort. The foundations of the south-west bastion were excavated in 1895-96. These walls, however, showed no signs of haste, the brickwork being extraordinarily massive and strong.

In February, 1709, the rotation government took the further step of the greatest importance to the health and safety of Calcutta. On the east side of the fort lay a small pond of water. By deepening and lengthening it, additional security was given to the south-east angle of the fortification, and a large reservoir was provided of water, far sweeter and healthier than the brackish Hughli, which had hitherto been the drink of the garrison. The earth taken out of the excavation was used to fill up the space between the two new bastions, and the bank was faced with rubble and ballast.

In February, 1710, they began to build a wharf before the fort, facing it with brick and raising a breastwork on which to plant cannon. Lastly, to complete these improvements in the external surroundings of the place, a clearance was made to the south, where the ground was choked up and close-set with trees, small thatched hovels, and standing pools of stinking water. In August the pay-master was ordered to clear the ground and open the way directly before the factory, "continuing the present walk already made further into the open field, filling up all the holes, and cutting small trenches on each side to carry the water clear from the adjacent places into the large drains."

Every year, as the Company's trade developed and the number of the Company's servants, civil and military, increased, the difficulty of finding room for them all within the fort became more pressing. On all sides warehouses were erected against the walls, under the pleasing belief that they strengthened the fortification. In other cases, accommodation had to be sought outside the fort altogether. In 1707, for example, the authorities in Calcutta were at last induced to attend to the needs of the soldiers and sailors, who every year fell sick and died in large numbers, owing to the cruel manner in which they were neglected. After frequent representations had been made by the doctors, the Council agreed, on the 16th of October, that a convenient spot, close to the burial-ground, should be pitched on as the site of a hospital and contributed two thousand rupees towards the building expenses. The rest of the money was raised by public subscription. In 1710, in order to put a stop to the unwholesome practice of allowing the soldiers to lodge in the town, the hospital was walled round and barracks erected for them to live in under the supervision of their officers. But more magnificent than all these buildings was the Church of St. Anne, erected by public subscription during the days of the rotation government and consecrated on the Sunday after Ascension Day, the 5th June, 1709. For over fifty years the sacred edifice continued to be the chief ornament of the English settlement in Bengal, and in the earliest



view of Calcutta, its lofty steeple is seen rising into the sky above all the buildings of the fort.

*Fort William in Peace and Prosperity.*

The rotation government, which thus did so much to build Calcutta, was abolished in 1710 and the office of president revived. On the evening of the 20th of July the newly appointed president, Governor Weltden, reached Calcutta and assumed the charge of his office. He was "met at his landing by most of the Europeans in the town and the natives in such crowds that it was difficult to pass to the fort where he was conducted by the Worshipful John Russell and Abraham Adams, Esquires, and the Council. The packet was opened and the commission read, after which the usual ceremony given on such occasions by firing guns and the keys of the fort delivered." But Antony Weltden did not remain governor long. On the 4th of March, 1711, the *Success* arrived from England, bringing despatches in accordance with which Weltden's commission was revoked, and John Russell became governor in his stead. In December, 1713, Russell resigned his station, and was succeeded by Robert Hedges. Under the administration of these three governors, the building of the fort was not completed, but came to an end. A line of warehouses, begun by Weltden which were intended to serve as a curtain between the north-west and south-west bastions, was continued and finished by Russell. A letter from Bengal, dated the 10th of December, 1712, mentions a number of other small improvements. According to it the works at Fort William are in great forwardness, but not perfectly completed. The wharf is finished, but not the breastwork on it. The strong landing stage, and the crane at the end of it, which will work at all times of the tide, are nearly done. Within the fort all that remains is a little work on one of the curtains, with the construction of a broad walk round the walls, and the reconstruction of the central range of lodgings, running from the east to the west curtain, which are now decayed and ready to fall. Another letter from Bengal in 1716, states that the long row of lodgings for the writers is finished and commodious, and they are going to finish the breastwork.

In order to provide more accommodation, President Hedges proposed to lengthen the fort by fifty feet; but this was never done. His chief improvements were on the riverside. In June, 1714, a drain and a bridge were built to protect the bank of the river at Perrin's gardens, and in January, 1717, "the small, thatched huts standing on the river's edge before the town, being observed not to preserve but prejudice the banks," were ordered to be all pulled down and removed before the rains set in, and the Collector of Calcutta was directed to see "all as far up as Prana's house, a little short of Captain Seaton's compound formerly called the *fakir's* ground, pulled down and removed."

Besides this Hedges constructed a dock large enough to hold two ships of four hundred tons with storehouses adjoining it, and purchased an octagon building on the point of land near Sutanuti's to control the trade of the river.

The great achievement of the government of Robert Hedges was the embassy which was sent in 1715 to the court of the emperor, Farrukhsiyar, at Delhi, and which returned in 1717, having obtained a number of important concessions and privileges. It is true that many of these concessions turned out mere paper promises, which were never actually fulfilled. Still the general effect of the embassy was that the English position in Calcutta was improved and established. During the twenty years which followed, the trade of Calcutta advanced by leaps and bounds. Improvements were from time to time made in the town to keep pace with the growing prosperity. In 1720-21, when Samuel Feake was governor, a new road was made southward to Govindpur, draining the low marshy ground through which it was carried, and so accommodating a large number of new inhabitants. In 1727, the Council induced a large number of the principal inhabitants to wharf the side of the river by their houses, and build landingstairs at the foot of the chief avenues. Besides this a good deal of money was spent to build outhouses and stairs at Perrins, to carry the road between that point and Sutanuti over a bridge leaving the drainage open, and to protect the bank from being scoured away by the rush of water at Sutanuti and Govindpur.

In 1727, Calcutta received a royal charter giving it a municipality with a Mayor, a Mayor's court, to try all causes concerning English men, civil, criminal and ecclesiastical, high treason excepted. For the use of the new court a town hall and a jail were built in 1729, with contributions levied from all the inhabitants. The town hall also accommodated the newly established charity school, and seems really to have been the property of the parish, for the Mayor's court paid rent to the school. In 1733, the Collector's office opposite the jail was rebuilt.

Within the fort the additions and alterations made during all these years were of a most trivial character. In March 1729, the import and export warehouses were enlarged by building a verandah before them. At other times petty repairs were done to the gate, the points, or the godowns. In 1728 a survey of the whole works and the garrison of Fort William showed that "they were all very much out of repair, there being several cracks in the walls, brickwork wanting in many places, and plaster-work almost all over." The beams of the rooms at the end of the long row and the armoury were reported "so rotten and bad that they would certainly fall in if not forthwith repaired, and also that if other reparations were not ordered that season the Honourable Company would be great sufferers thereby." This extensive renewal of wood-work took some time to carry out. For want of timber, the repairs to the

factory were not begun till 1732. They were completed in October, 1735, at the cost of fifty-three thousand rupees. Repairs were also about the same time carried out to the hospital, the powder magazine, and the saltpetre warehouse.

Calcutta was now at the high tide of its prosperity. Its population had increased from ten or twelve thousand, in 1706, to somewhere under one hundred thousand. Its local revenues were not less than three thousand rupees a month. Some fifty vessels visited the port every year, and the annual value of its trade may be estimated at a million sterling. Instead of quarrelling and fighting as in days of old, the rulers of Fort William thought of nothing but wealth and comfort. "Those were the days," writes an old stager, "when gentlemen studied ease instead of fashion, when even the honourable members of Council met in banyan shirts, long drawers and conjee caps, with a case bottle of good old arrack and a gouglet of water placed on the table, which the Secretary, a skilful hand, frequently converted into punch."

The city at this time has been described as "situated on a bow of the river Ganges," about four miles long, "the points of which are Surman's gardens to the southward, and Perrin's to the northward. Our bounds extended inland in a kind of curve too, the greatest distance of which from the river was a mile and a quarter." "In the mid-most part of the curve the houses of the English inhabitants extend along the river nearly a mile and inland about 600 yards. In the centre of these houses close on the bank of the river stood the fort. Where they ceased to the north began the habitations of the most considerable of the natives with their markets or bazars. All the good buildings of this quarter which finishes to the north with the Company's territory are comprised within the same distance from the river as that which contains the English town, behind which as well as behind the whole of the northern quarter is a suburb of mud houses extending still further eastward for half a mile and inhabited by great multitudes of the common people. Where the English town ends to the southward begins another continuation of houses which extends to the southern extremity of the Company's territory. Very few considerable families of the natives resided in this quarter, in which the number of inhabitants as well as houses were much less than in the suburbs already described. Orchards and gardens took up the greatest part of the rest of the Company's grounds."

The central portion of the settlement was Calcutta proper, the north was Sutanuti, the south Govindpur. By the back of the settlement ran the pilgrim path from Chitpur to Kalighat. In front of the fort was the green which extended right up to the rope walk, or Mission Row. The north side of the green was skirted by the avenue leading from the east gate of the fort to the salt lake. The cross roads, where the avenue intersected the Chitpur Road

was the spot where criminal justice was publicly meted out to offenders. A little way along the avenue was the kutchery and the jail. Further down, opposite the play-house in the corner of the green, stood the town hall, used as a court house and a charity school, and close up against the north-east side of the fort was the church with its lofty spire. From before the fort other roads ran to Sutanuti and Govindpur. In the centre of the green was the great tank, the chief reservoir of sweet water for the use of the settlement. South of the green lay the stables, the barracks, the powder magazine, the hospital, and the graveyard.

The control of the Council of Calcutta was exercised through a special member known as the *Zamindar* or the Collector. As a revenue officer the Collector had under him a staff of clerks and rent gatherers ; as magistrate he controlled a small police force. The settlement was divided into *four* districts each administered through a separate office with others subordinate to them. In 1737 there were altogether *ten* offices, one for the Collector, one for the Superintendent of Police, three for the towns and five for the bazars ; besides thirteen outposts for the constables, and eleven for the military police. More than twenty gates in and about the settlement closed the principal avenues, bridges carried the roads over the watercourse at Perrin's Point and across the creek to the south which divided Calcutta from the open country towards Govindpur.

The construction of Fort William "was as simple as it was contemptible." It was in shape an irregular tetragon of brick and mortar. Its north side was 340 feet long, its south side 485 feet, its west and east sides 710 feet. At the four corners were four small bastions which were connected by curtain walls about four feet thick and eighteen feet high. They were built of small thin bricks strongly cemented together with a composition of brick dust, lime, molasses and cut hemp. Each of the four bastions mounted ten guns, and the east gate, which projected, carried five. The bank of the river was armed with heavy cannon mounted in embrasures on a wall of solid masonry, and the space between this river wall and the west curtain was closed at each end by small cross walls palisaded gates. There were, however, no proper ditches or military outworks of any kind to protect the other three sides of the fort. Within, a block of low buildings running east and west cut the fort into two sections, which were connected by a narrow passage. The northern section of the fort had one small water gate, and in its centre an oblong building with a row of columns down the middle. The southern and the larger sections had two gates, one leading to the river and the landing stage, the other opening out to the eastward and giving access to the town. In the middle of the section was the Governor's house which Hamilton describes as "the best and most regular piece of architecture that I ever saw in India."

All round the fort, chambers and arcades were built against the curtain walls, their roofs serving as ramparts. To those lying south of the east gate a melancholy interest attaches. They were the scene of the Black Hole tragedy.

In the India Office you may see a picture of the river face of Fort William at Bengal painted and delineated by Lambert and Scott in the year 1736. In the distance, towering above the fort buildings, is the steeple of St. Anne's Church. In front of this we see the factory, a lofty two-storied building with projecting wings and large windows looking towards the river. Between it and the river run two lines of walls. First comes the west curtain wall connecting the north-west and south-west bastions pierced by a gate opposite the great gate of the factory. Then in front of this comes the river wall rounded at each end with numerous embrasures for cannon and with steps and landing stage opposite the gate in the curtain. In the river ride the Company's ships. One of them, which has just arrived, is saluting the fort with its guns.

In 1737 the good fortune of Calcutta received a check. On the 30th of September occurred the great storm or cyclone which was long afterwards remembered on account of its destructive effects. "Such a scene of horror as that night was," writes Sir Francis Russell,\* "I never saw or heard of; such terrible gusts of wind, like the loudest thunder, and torrents of rain, that I expected every moment the house I live in, which I believe the strongest in the town, would have fallen on my head. The noise was so violent above stairs, that myself and family were obliged to go down and stay below till morning with poor Mrs. Wastell and her children, who had fled to our house for shelter, the doors and windows of hers being burst from the walls. But, Good God, what a sight was the town and the river in the morning! Not a ship but the *Duke of Dorsett* to be seen in the river, where the evening before were twenty-nine sails of vessels great and small, many being drove ashore, some broke to pieces, and others foundered. And this, which is scarce creditable in a river hardly a mile wide, there was no ebb-tide for near twenty-four hours. Our church steeple was blown down, as also eight or ten English houses, and numbers belonging to the black merchants. \*The whole place looked like a place that had been bombarded by an enemy. Such a havoc did it make that it is impossible to find words to express it. All our beautiful shady roads laid bare, which will not be the like again this twenty years. I thank God I have no greater share in this calamity than what my proportion of refitting

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\* A great grandson of Oliver Cromwell, died at Calcutta the 26th of February, 1743, when Chief of the factory Quasimbazar. His widow, whose residence in Calcutta is shown in several maps, died at Fulta in 1756. On the 30th of November, 1744, she married Thomas Holmes, but she apparently remained best known as Lady Russell.—W. K. F.

the freight ships drove ashore will amount to, which may be five or six thousand rupees for my part of all additional charges, and about half that in damage done my houses in town and country. I saved all my fine trees in the country that were blown down by replacing them while the earth was soft, as they might have done by those on the roads had the same care been taken. All our boats and small crafts being also destroyed, rendered impossible for us to help for some days our distressed ships, who lay ashore by the Governor's garden three miles below the town except the *Newcastle* who lay high ashore and bilged over against the fort, nor was the least assistance afforded our own ships till all possible assistance had been first sent the Company's ships, and I believe they were the first afloat except the *Hallifax*, who could not be got off till her goods were out, though I reckon this will hardly meet credit in England. And, I am sure, no men in the world could in the distress we were in have got men and boats and necessities sooner than we did, though I believe many thought they were not served soon enough and yet would give no grains of allowance for the difficulties we laboured under in being forced to get boat from remote places the storm had not reached."

A writer in the *Indian Church Quarterly Review* has expressed scepticism as to the serious character of the great storm of 1737 on the ground that no mention is made of it on the Company's records. But there is a detailed account of the damage done drawn up by the Collector on the 17th of October. "The late violent storm," he says, "has laid the whole blacktown quite throughout the Honourable Company's bounds, in so much that hardly twenty thatched houses were standing the next day. There is great damage done to the Honourable Company's houses for the out-guards of the town, the public kutchery, and the gates of the town, and several other places. Of the eleven chowkey houses for the buxaries about the bounds, seven are entirely ruined so that they must be new built and four may be repaired. The three kutcheries in the town and the five in the bazars are quite ruined, and cannot be built but must be new built. Of the thirteen chowkeys for the pykes nine must be entirely new, and four may be repaired. The kutchery where the zamindar sits to hear causes and that for the cotwal want repairing. Of the gates made about the town fourteen are quite broken to pieces and eight may be mended. One of the pucca gates is greatly damaged and the door quite blown out from the wall. The gate at Perrin's garden is quite broken down and destroyed; several bridges, large and small, for draining the towns are quite destroyed. The road by the wharf near the octagon in the way to Sunday Bazar is almost washed away with the river. The gunge by Govindpur is so much damaged by the river that people who import grain have not any place to build golahs for it. Two carts are broken to pieces, and four pansways."

The great storm of 1737 marks the conclusion of the first period of the existence of old Fort William, the days of its youth and prosperity, hereafter it enters upon its second period of existence, the period of difficulty, anxiety, and disaster.

C. R. WILSON, Doc. Lit. (OXON.)



## The Governor-General of a Day.

**F**RIDAY the 20th of June 1777 saw a state of affairs in Calcutta which has never had, and probably never will have, a parallel. On that day there were two Kings in Brentford with a vengeance, for General Clavering was sitting at the Council House as Governor-General with a council consisting of one, Phillip Francis; while Warren Hastings was presiding, as Governor-General, over a meeting of the Board of Revenue consisting of himself and Richard Barwell. The position was an impossible one, and a *coup d'état* must have been an eventuality that could not have been absent from the minds of either party. The following account of the actual happenings of these momentous days has been compiled after a perusal of the original proceedings and papers which I have been permitted to consult, and make use of, through the courtesy of the Government of Bengal. It is not my object to set out the previous history of the quarrels in Council which led Warren Hastings to send home Colonel Maclean charged with instructions the exact intention of which is to this day doubtful. This has been done by abler pens than mine, and those who are interested in the matter will find a full account in the various lives of Warren Hastings and similar publications. Suffice it to say that the Court of Directors took action on Colonel Maclean's representation, and in their despatch of October 1776 appointed Wheler to the Council to fill up Hastings' place. This despatch was received and considered at the meeting of the General Council on Thursday the 19th of June 1777. If, as was contended by the enemies of Warren Hastings, the orders contained therein vacated the office of Governor-General, an opportunity had at last arisen for Francis to obtain that power for which his soul longed and which he was fated never to enjoy. General Clavering was the Senior Member of Council, and, as such, entitled to the Governor-Generalship, if vacant, and General Clavering was a tool ready to the hand of Francis. No time was allowed to be lost in opening the campaign. Friday was not a day fixed for the General Council to meet as it was the day allotted to the meeting of the Revenue Board. However, on Friday the conspirators at once got to work. Early that morning, J. P. Auriol, who was Secretary to Council in the General Department, received a letter from General Clavering from his Garden House with orders to "attend the General in Town with the despatches from Europe before 8 o'clock in the morning." Auriol did so, and was with General Clavering till about half past ten. Soon after his arrival at the General's, Francis came into the room. Clavering was at that time dictating a letter to Barwell summoning him to



Council to be present at his assumption of the office of Governor-General. A formal summons was then issued to Barwell to attend a meeting of the General Council that day at 11 o'clock, while Clavering dictated a letter to Warren Hastings calling upon him to deliver over charge of his office of Governor-General.

The summons was handed to Barwell as he was proceeding in his carriage to attend the usual meeting of the Revenue Board, and the letter to Warren Hastings on his arrival there. The proceedings of that body give a full account of what then happened. Barwell began by producing the summons, or note, as he calls it, with the remark "It is of a nature so very extraordinary that some immediate steps are I judge necessary to be taken on the subject." Warren Hastings in the meantime had received General Clavering's letter which was delivered to him by Lieutenant Roberts, the General's Persian translator. This letter, after referring to the Despatches from Europe, to prove that Warren Hastings' resignation had been accepted, and to the appointment of E. Wheler to the Council "to the place and office avoided by my promotion to the place and office of Governor-General," called upon Warren Hastings "to surrender to me the keys of Fort William and of the Company's Treasuries now in your possession."

Hastings and Barwell in a letter addressed to Lieutenant-General Clavering which begins "The Governor-General in Council legally and regularly assembled" at once replied "We know of no act or instrument by which the place and offices of Warren Hastings as Governor-General are vacated nor by which they have actually devolved on you, and we are resolved to assert and maintain by every legal means the authority and trust which have been reposed in him." With the interchange of these letters the battle may be said to have fairly joined. A struggle now ensued to obtain command of every department of Government. The Secretary to the Revenue Board produced a letter from Clavering as Governor-General, directing him to call a meeting of that body for 1 o'clock that day and to summon Barwell and Francis and to inform the Roy Royan\* to be in attendance. In reply to this he was directed to call upon Clavering to appear before W. Hastings and Barwell in virtue of their authority as "a majority of the Council duly assembled." Strenuous measures were now taken in hand. A letter was ordered to be written to Colonel Morgan, Commandant of the Fort, directing him to obey no orders "save those signed by Warren Hastings or the majority of his Council." While securing the military power, the authority of the law was also invoked, and the following letter addressed to Sir Elijah Impey, Kt., Chief Justice, was despatched: "Sir,—Some extraordinary pretensions having been urged to the office of Governor-

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\* The Roy Royan was the chief native Revenue Officer who attended all meetings of the Revenue Board.

General which has rendered it necessary for me and the majority of my Council regularly assembled to address the accompanying cautionary letter to Colonel Morgan, I request the favour of you to assemble the Judges of the Supreme Court to assist with your advice and authority on this very important and alarming occasion." After these steps had been taken the immediate attendance of Francis was requested and the despatches from Europe were sent for from the General Department.

The Secretary was then sent off to the Supreme Court to ask the Judges "to meet us at the Revenue Council House as we may have occasion to refer to many papers of the office on the subjects on which we wish to receive the benefit of your advice."

In the meantime the Judges of the Supreme Court had replied to the first letter as follows:—

HON'BLE SIR,

In consequence of a letter by you addressed to Sir Elijah Impey desiring him to assemble the Judges we are now assembled at the Court House accordingly and as the business of the day is over, are there detained for no other cause.

(Sd.) E. Impey

„ Robert Chambers.

„ S. C. LeMaistre.

„ John Hyde.

Friday, 2 o'clock P.M.

In consequence of the second letter, the Chief Justice and Judges of the Supreme Court came to the Council House and the proceedings of the Council for the day were read over to them. A further attempt was then made to get the despatches from Europe from Auriol, but he replied that "they are in the possession of General Clavering to whom I delivered them this morning." Barwell, himself, went over to the Council House and endeavoured to get the despatches, but returned unsuccessful and reported that General Clavering had the papers and refused to hand them over. A note of the conversation in Barwell's own handwriting is still preserved. A letter was immediately after received addressed to Sumner, the Secretary of the Board, requesting him to inform the Judges that the despatches and other papers would be sent to them that evening together with an address on the subject "by General Clavering as Governor-General and Mr. Francis." A reply was sent that the Chief Justice and Judges would meet at the House of the Chief Justice at 6 o'clock that evening "by themselves for the purpose of reading the papers mentioned in Mr. Auriol's letter."

Letters were then ordered to be written to all the Provincial Councils and Collectors, to the officers commanding at Barrackpur, Chunaghur, Berhampur, and Budge Budge, and the officers in command of the 1st

Brigade, the Nabob's Troops, and the troops in Camp, directing them not to obey orders from anyone save Warren Hastings or a majority of his Council. Having thus taken all reasonable precautions to maintain his authority, Warren Hastings drafted a formal letter to the Judges of the Supreme Court setting out his case. The Board then adjourned with the proviso that "the Secretary continue in attendance on the Governor-General." It appears from the papers that Barwell went off to his country house immediately after the meeting and could not be communicated with.

In the meantime it is interesting to see what General Clavering and Francis had been doing during this period. Their actions are duly recorded in the Proceedings which are headed as follows: "At a Council present—Lieutenant-General John Clavering who takes the Oath of Governor-General Phillip Francis, Esq." It is on record that General Clavering entered the Council Chamber soon after 11 o'clock accompanied by Francis, and that Francis administered the Oath to Clavering, who made the usual declaration required from a Governor-General which was duly entered in the book of Oaths and signed by him. After taking the Oath, Clavering then took the chair occupied by the Governor-General at a Council meeting. The Sheriff was then sent for and duly attended. A proclamation was drafted which the Sheriff was directed to publish that afternoon at the Court House announcing that General Clavering had taken up the Office of Governor-General. When, however, orders were passed for the translation of this proclamation into Persian, difficulties arose, as Sir John D'Oyly, the Persian Translator, firmly refused to translate it without a written order from the Governor-General and Council. Further action on the part of Clavering and Francis was rendered difficult as they had now learnt that Hastings had called in the Judges. This no doubt gave them considerable ground for thought for the situation was hazardous. If they declined to agree to a reference to the law, there was nothing left but a *coup d'etat*, and there seems no ground for thinking they would have had any measure of success in such a step while a failure would have been disastrous.

The only thing left was to acquiesce in the reference and agree to abide by the decision of the Court, which they accordingly did, informing the Judges that "they were preparing an address to them." There is not the slightest reason for supposing that they ever contemplated such a reference till their hand was forced. The wording of their reference shows, moreover, they had little hope of a successful issue since they are careful to say "but no Act of Government has as yet issued from us as a Board." They closed their meeting by a resolution that all orders, "minuted on this day's Proceedings, be suspended for the present." The scene of interest now shifts over to the Chief Justice and Judges. They met at Sir Elijah Impey's house as arranged at 6-30 that night. The

papers and representation from General Clavering and Francis did not reach them till about 7 o'clock, which goes far to show that Hastings' move in referring the matter to the Judges was in the nature of a surprise. They had little difficulty, though they sat far into the night, in determining "that the place and office of Governor-General of this Presidency has not yet been vacated by Mr. Hastings and that the actual assumption of the Government by the member of Council next in succession to Mr. Hastings in consequence of any declaration from the papers communicated to us would be absolutely illegal." The ground on which they based their opinion was that though Hastings might have manifested his "desire to resign" he had not actually tendered his resignation. In communicating their decision they say: "We do assure you that none of the time has been taken up by settling a difference of opinion. There is not one point in which, from the first to the last, we have not entirely concurred."

Armed with this opinion, Hastings had now little difficulty in reducing the malcontents to order. Clavering and Francis having no other way out of the impasse, wrote stating they proposed to acquiesce in the decision of the Judges. Letters were also received from the various officers commanding brigades, notifying their obedience to the orders issued by Hastings. The meetings of the Revenue Board which met by adjournment on the 22nd and the 23rd are occupied with proceedings which seek to fix Clavering with the responsibility of having illegally assumed authority as Governor-General. Auriol, Barwell, Sir John D'Oyly and others are all solemnly examined at length with this object.

Finally a resolution was passed declaring that General Clavering by his conduct had vacated his place on the Council, his office as Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in India, and that he was not to be summoned to Council in the future.

At the meeting of the Board on the 24th, Francis attended, and by his first question at once attempted to create prejudice, by asking the Secretary if he had summoned him to the meetings of the Board which took place on the two previous days. The Secretary replied that he had not, "as the Board met by adjournment." Hastings then intervened and asked if Francis had not been summoned on Friday the 20th, requesting his attendance on matters of importance. This was established and Francis apparently seeing that nothing was to be gained in this direction said no more about it.

He then, however, proceeded to attack the resolutions removing Clavering from Council and his office of Commander-in-Chief. Here, it is obvious, he had an easy task as the arguments used by the Judges in the case of the Governor-Generalship applied with equal or even greater force to the resolution removing Clavering. Some of the language he uses, however, regard being

had to the part he had played in the previous proceedings, is distinctly humorous : "Let me conjure you, Gentlemen, to honour me with your attention, *my* interest in this cause is not greater than your own. Everything is at stake, everything has been hazarded I fear by some degree of precipitation, much may be retrieved by prudence and moderation. I trust it will appear that I have given a signal example of both, not only in my immediate and implicit acquiescence in the decision of the Judges, but in my present attendance here. Let me have the honour and happiness of assuming the character of a mediator and maintaining it with effect." After a sanctimonious oration in this strain, he wound up by moving that the resolutions regarding Clavering should be rescinded. Barwell followed, opposing the resolution, though he obviously felt there was little to be said on legal grounds in support of Clavering's removal.

Hastings commenced a speech, which he interrupted, on receiving a message from the Judges stating that the legality of the action regarding Clavering's removal had been referred to them. It was then agreed that further action should be stayed pending the opinion of the Judges. This, as was to be expected, was in favour of Clavering with the result that at the next meeting of the Board, all four members attended and the *status quo ante* was restored.

The most remarkable feature in these extraordinary proceedings is the moderation that characterized them. Instances in Indian history are not wanting of a resort to force on the part of the Council to remove a recalcitrant Governor. The case of Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras, in 1777, who was deposed and confined by his Council, will occur to everyone. Warren Hastings himself, before whom this matter came, does not appear to have denied that circumstances might arise which would justify the majority of the Council in resorting to extreme measures to enforce their opinion. In these circumstances what were the reasons that prevented Clavering and Francis in the first place, and in the second, Warren Hastings and Barwell from resorting to sterner measures? As regards Clavering and Francis, there seems little doubt that they would have had no support from either the officials, the army, or public opinion. Auriol alone of the officials appears to have been active in their cause. The Officer Commanding Fort William assumed a most correct attitude and he was followed by the other military officers. Once the case was referred to the Judges it was of course clear that a resort to force on their part was out of the question. Hastings, however, was in a different position. He had the assurance, of almost universal support, and fortified by the decision of the Supreme Court, his position in India was clearly unassailable. Even his worst enemies have never urged that he was a man lacking in enterprise and firmness. A most gross insult had been offered him and an attempt made by what was

little less than a violent conspiracy to seize his office. Why did he stay his hand and by permitting Clavering his liberty thus ensure that the intolerable situation in Council would be restored? The answer is, I think, to be found in the fact that he was well aware that his position as regards Maclean's negotiations was by no means secure. The opinion of the Judges was sufficient to ensure his position in India, pending the arrival of orders from England, but it was by no means clear that the same view of the effect of the appointment of Wheler would be taken at Home. •

Another interesting result of the affair is the very commanding position that was given to the Supreme Court in the eyes of the native world by the reference to the Judges. A body that could determine the claims to the highest office in the country, was obviously a body that was not far from being the highest authority in India; and there can be little doubt that the importance of judicial authority received a recognition, that not all the subsequent disfavour into which that Court fell, ever entirely removed, and the position that the Judges of the Supreme Court have ever since held in Indian opinion is largely due to their action in this matter. No more politic action stands to the credit of Warren Hastings than this reference to the Supreme Court, and no more wise and statesmanlike decision was ever arrived at in the annals of the Indian Courts, than the ready acceptance by Impey and his colleagues of the responsibility of examining the matter. Whether the grounds for the decision at which the Court arrived, were quite as free from doubt as the Judges held them to be is another matter. The contention in the minute, which Clavering and Francis recorded after the decision of the Judges was received, that "The law makes no provision for an intended or conditional resignation. It does not suppose such a case directly or indirectly. It empowers the Court of Directors and his Majesty to perform certain acts in consequence of a resignation and these acts have been performed" appears to have considerable substance.

The quarrel regarding Hastings' resignation finds a curious legislative memorial in Section 20 of Pitt's Act of 1784 (24 Geo III. secs. 2 & 25) which enacts that the resignation of the office of Governor-General, in order to be valid, must be signified in writing. •

A. P. M.



## The Town Hall Lotteries.

**A**MONG the few remaining relics of old time Calcutta which have recently been discovered—and that by mere chance—are the copper plates of the “third” and “fourth” Town Hall Lottery tickets. By the courtesy of the Corporation of Calcutta I was permitted to see and, moreover, to use, for purposes of reproduction in this magazine, these interesting evidences of the past. They were picked up by the present Secretary amongst a lot of rubbish in the Municipal Office and cleaned, when their value was discovered, and it was decided to make them over to the Victoria Memorial Hall with a lot of other interesting articles which the Corporation are presenting. When the plates came into my possession I proceeded to examine both sides of them and was not a little surprised to find on the back of the plate of the fourth lottery (Fig. 2) what is in fact part of the plan of the battle of Assaye (Fig. 3). A battle was fought here on the 23rd of September 1803, by the Indian army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, against the confederate Mahrattas. Colonel Wellesley, with 4,500 troops, of whom 2,000 were British, defeated the combined forces, 50,000 strong, of the Mahratta chief Sindia and the raja of Berar, and they had 1,600 infantry under French officers. One in three of the British forces was killed. Sindia's artillery rested on the right bank of the rivulet. The hamlet is built near the bank of the rivulet; and the spirit of one of the French officers who fell in the battle has been deified, and at his tomb worship is performed by the Mahrattas of the village and neighbourhood. This in itself is of historical interest; but what concerns us more nearly are the plates of the Town Hall Lotteries. A consideration of these important finds naturally brings us to the initiation of Public Town Halls in Calcutta.

The first Town Hall, or Old Court House, of Calcutta, we are told, stood at the northern end of the street which at the present day derives its name from it, and on the site now occupied by St. Andrew's Church. The story of this building has been told elsewhere in this journal by Miss E. M. Drummond. For many years this building was the venue of the social gatherings of those olden times, till in the year 1791 it began to show signs of insecurity. In fact, the decay seems to have been so apparent that the Government ordered its demolition and it was accordingly pulled down in 1792. A scheme for a new Town Hall was then projected.

About this time lotteries in India and at Home were openly patronized by Government and it appears that for every purpose, charitable, scientific or otherwise, lotteries were the rule rather than the exception. It was not

Third Calcutta Town Hall Lottery

No. 1

A.D. 1807.

The Proprietor hereof will be entitled to such prize as shall arise to the above Number in the Third Calcutta Town Hall Lottery, payable at the General Treasury at Calcutta, thirty days after the Drawing of the Lottery shall have been concluded.

Secretary } Commissioners

A.D. 1807

No.

See



•

A. D. 1807.

# FOURTH CALCUTTA TOWN-HALL LOTTERY

For the Year One Thousand  
Eight Hundred and Seven

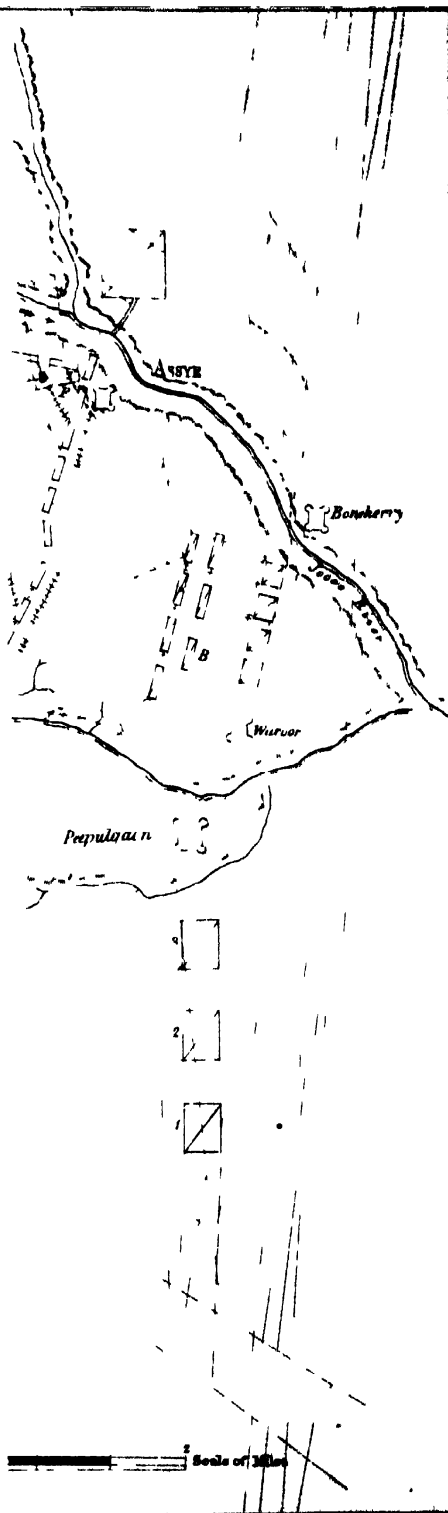
No.

The Proprietor hereby will warrant to such prize as shall arise to  
the above Number in the Fourth Calcutta Town Hall Lottery payable  
at the General Drawing at Calcutta, the 1st day of the Drawing  
of the Lottery shall have been concluded

Commissioner,

FIG 2

Secretary





extraordinary, therefore, to find that this method of raising funds was adopted for the erection of the Town Hall.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in 1791, the benevolent Mr. Charles Weston won as a prize in a lottery, the Tiretta Bazaar, which was to fall to the drawer of the last ticket. We are told that it was valued at 196,000 sicca rupees, and its rents gave a large monthly return, which Weston applied to his own use.

There existed in these days a congenial place of resort known as Le Gallais' Tavern ; and it was at this popular house that a meeting was held on the 31st of May 1792 at which it was determined to raise subscriptions for the erection of a "public building for the general accommodation of the settlement." About this time a masonic lottery was also advertized, the profits from which were to be devoted to the erection of a building for the use of "Freemasons, Bucks or other societies, assemblies, balls, concerts or as a public exchange." Subsequently it would appear that the two schemes were absorbed, for another lottery notice sets out that "the building should be constructed in the manner best adapted to the climate ; and contain a spacious ball-room, concert-room, dining-room, card-rooms, dressing-rooms, and other convenient and necessary apartments, keeping in view the accommodation of the Masonic Lottery."

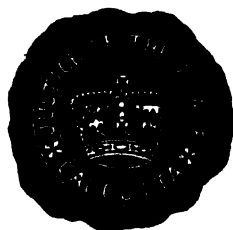
Some time appears to have elapsed between this determination and the starting of the first Calcutta Town Hall Lottery. This lottery numbered 5,600 tickets at 60 sicca rupees each, of which 1,331 carried prizes amounting to three lakhs of rupees, and 3,669 were blanks. The second lottery was got up in 1805 and advertized "under the sanction and patronage of His Excellency the Most Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council." This lottery was for five lakhs of sicca rupees, and there were 1,000 prizes and 4,000 blanks. The public on this occasion were informed that "as the profits arising from the present lottery will be inadequate to the purpose of completing the public edifice proposed to be constructed, a lottery will be offered annually to the public, under the same sanction and superintendence, until the requisite funds shall have been provided." That this promise was kept is proved by the discovery of the plates of the third and fourth Town Hall Lottery tickets, reproduced herein (Figs. 1 and 2). These were the last two lotteries.

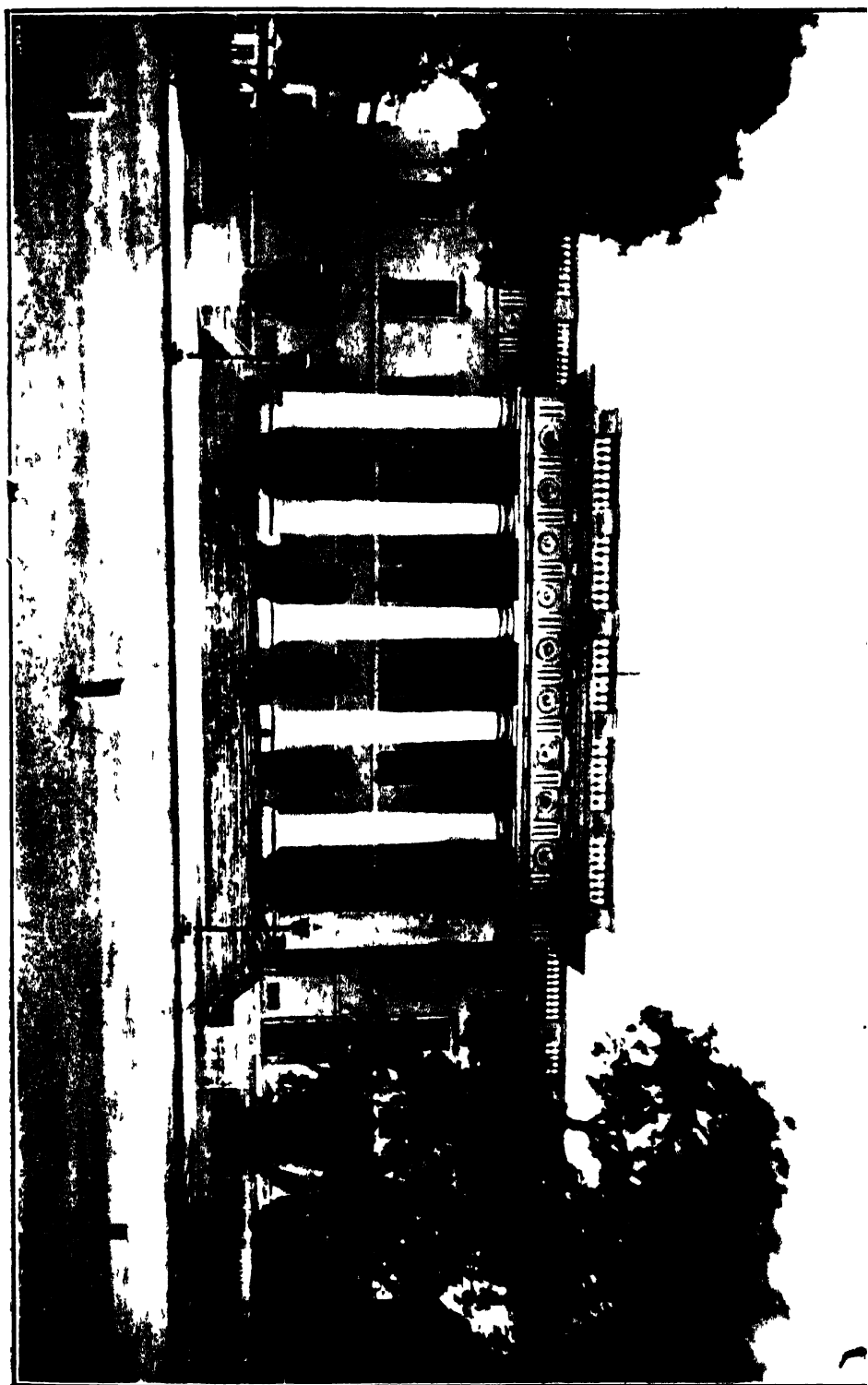
The authorities do not appear to have waited for the collection of all the funds, however ; for in the very year that the old Town Hall was demolished (1792) the present structure was commenced on the site of a house in which Justice Hyde lived and for which he paid a monthly rental of Rs. 1,200. Building must have been tardy in those days for we find that it was not till fifteen years after it was projected that the present Town Hall was completed and at a cost of seven lakhs of rupees !

The Commissioners appointed by the Governor-General to superintend the erection of the building reported its completion on the 22nd of March 1814. The Building Commission was therefore abolished and a committee was appointed for the future general superintendence and charge of the building. Considering the large amount of money that this structure cost it is somewhat surprising to learn that at the close of 1815, plans were put in for several alterations which cost Rs. 40,000, for the stated reasons that "the beams in the floor of the large hall upstairs had a springiness which was very unpleasant and had a tendency to shake the supporting pillars in the Town Hall."

In 1866 the Town Hall was made over by Government to the late Justices of the Peace to be kept in trust for the public ; and, later when the Justices were supplanted by the present Civic Fathers, the great old building, which is ninety-three years old, passed into their keeping. Suggestions have been made since that time to sell the present structure and construct a new hall. It is not within my province to express an opinion on the suggestion. It is for the Corporation and the Public to decide.

R. D.







# Echoes from Calcutta & Poet's Corner.

*A few lines in honour of the late Mr. Simms, Senior Assistant to Messrs Sheringham, Leith, Badgery and Hay.*

## I

W HO did not know that office Jaun \* of pale Pomona green,  
With its drab and yellow lining, and picked out black between,  
Which down the Esplanade did go at the ninth hour of the day  
We ne'er shall see it thus again,—Alas ! and well-a-day !

## II

With its bright brass patent axles, and its little hog-maned tats,  
And its ever jetty harness, which was always made by Watts,  
The harness black and silver, and the ponies of dark grey.  
And shall we never see it more—Alas ! and well-a-day.

## III

With its very tidy coachman with a very grey old beard,  
And its pair of neat clad syces, on whom no spot appeared,  
Not sitting lazily behind, but running all the way  
By Mr. Simms' little coach—Alas, and well-a-day !

## IV

And when he reached the counting house he got out at the door,  
And entering the office made just three bows and no more,  
Then passing through the clerks he smiled a sweet smile and a gay,  
And kindly spoke the younger ones—Alas ! and well-a-day !

## V

And all did love to see him with his jacket rather long,  
It was the way they wore them when good Mr. Simms was young,  
With his Nankeen breeches buckled by two gold buckles away,  
And his China tight silk stockings, pink and shining, well-a-day !

---

\* Yule and Burnell : *Hobson Jobson* writes : " This is a term used in Calcutta, and occasionally in Madras, of which the origin is unknown to the present writers. It is, or was, applied to a small palankin carriage, such as is commonly used by business men in going to their offices." Mr. Crooke adds " Mr. H. Beveridge points out that it is derived from H. Benj *yan*, defined by Sir G. Haughton a vehicle, any means of conveyance, a horse, a carriage, a *Paltic*.' It is Skt *yana*, with same meaning, This initial *Ya* in Bengali is usually pronounced *Ja*. The root is *ya* to go. Query." The Jaun bazar is generally supposed to be the Jain bazar : but may it not derive its name from the carriage builders ? To readers in England it may perhaps necessary to say that a tat (tattú) is a pony.—W. K. F.



## VI

With his little frill like crisped snow, his waistcoat spotless white,  
His cravat very narrow and a very little tight,  
And a blue broach, where, in diamond sparks, a ship at anchor a lay,  
The gift of Mr. Cruttenden—Alas, and well-a-day !

## VII

Then from the press where it abode, he took the ledger stout,  
And looked upon it reverently within side and without,  
Then placed his pencil, rubber, pens and knives in due array,  
And Mr. Simms was ready for the business of the day.

## VIII

And ever to the junior clerks his counsel it was wise,  
That they should loop their l's and cross their t's, and dot their i's,  
And honour Messrs. Sheringham, Leith, Badgery and Hay,  
Whom he had served for forty years—Alas, and well-a-day.

## IX

And a very pleasant running hand good Mr. Simms did write,  
His up-strokes were like gossamer, his down-strokes black as night,  
And his lines all clear and sparkling, like a rivulet in May,  
Meandered o'er the folios—Alas, and well-a-day !

## X

And daily in a silver dish, as bright as bright could be,  
At one o'clock his tiffin came, two sandwiches, or three,  
It never came a minute soon, nor a minute did delay,  
So punctual were good Mr. Simms people—well-a-day !

## XI

And in the mangoe season still a daily basket came,  
With fruit as green as emeralds or ruddier than the flame,  
By Mr. Simms the sort had been imported from Bombay  
And sown and grown beneath his eye—Alas, and well-a-day.

## XII

And when his tiffin it was done, he took a pint precise  
Of well cooled soda water, but it was not cooled with ice,  
And a little ginger essence (Oxley's) Mr. Simms did say  
It comforted his rheumatiz—Alas, and well-a-day.

## XIII

Then on a Sunday after prayers, while waiting in the porch,  
His talk was of the bishop, and the vestry, and the church ;  
And two or three select young men would dine with him that day,  
To taste his old Madeira, and his curry called Malay.

## XIV

For famous was the table that good Mr. Simms did keep  
 With his home-fed ducks, his Madras fowls, and gram-fed Patna sheep,  
 And the fruits from his own garden and the dried hah from the Bay,  
 Sent up by old Branch Pilot Stout—Alas, and well-a-day !

## XV

And he was full of anecdote, and spiced his prime pale ale  
 With many a cheerful bit of talk, and many a gurious tale,  
 How Dexter\* ate his buttons off, and in a one house chay  
 My Lord Cornwallis drove about—Alas ! and well-a-day !

## XVI

And every Doorga Poojah would good Mr. Simms explore,  
 The famous river Hooghly up as high as Barrackpore  
 And visit the menagerie, and in his pleasant way,  
 Declare that all the bears were bores—Alas, and well-a day

## XVII

Then, if the weather was fine, to Chinsura he'd go,  
 With his nieces three in a pinace, and a smart young man or so,  
 In bright blue coats, and waistcoats, which were sparkling as the day,  
 And curly hair, and white kid gloves, a lover-like array ?

## XVIII

And at Chinsura they walked about and then they went to tea,  
 With antient merchant Van der Zauk, and the widow Van der Zee  
 They were old friends of Mr. Simms, and parting he would say  
 " Perchance we ne'er may meet again "—Alas, and well-a-day.

## XIX

At length the hour did come for him, which surely comes for all,  
 From beggar in his hovel to the monarch in his hall,  
 And when it came to Mr. Simms, he gently passed away  
 As falling into pleasant sleep—Alas and well-a-day !

## XX

And on his face there lingered still a sweet smile and a bland,  
 His Bible lying by his side, and some roses in his hand.  
 His spectacles still marked the place where he had read that day.  
 The words of faith and hope which cheered his spirit on its way.

## XXI

And many were the weeping friends who followed him next night,  
 In many mourning coaches, found by Solitude and Kyte.  
 And many a circle still laments the good, the kind, the gay  
 The hospitable Mr. Simms—Alas, and well-a-day.

HENRY MEREDITH PARKER (in *Bule Ponjis*, 1851)

\* Christopher Dexter whose advertisements frequently appear in the old Calcutta Gazette, livery stableman and general merchant.

# The Northern Side of Tank Place (Dalhousie Square) in the Eighteenth Century.

## PART I.

“**E**VERY (Calcutta) school-boy knows”—to use a historical phrase which perhaps riveted itself on Lord Macaulay's brain when, at the present No. 33, Chowringhee, he was distressing himself with the perverse activities of the orientlists and the lethargy of the padre-sahibs\*—that when the Government of Bengal meet in council during the Calcutta season, they foregather on a spot which “by the Word of God and Prayer and other spiritual and religious duties” was once solemnly dedicated and consecrated “to the Sacred Name of God and to His Service and Worship only.”† The octagonal building at the western end of Writers' Buildings covers the site—not of the oldest Christian Church in Calcutta, for that surely was the “Mass House” of the good Augustinian Fathers which Sir John Goldsborough had destroyed in 1693‡—but of the first Anglican Church, St. Anne's. Yet, even the advanced pupils of the Free School are, perhaps, not aware of the curious fact that their institution is benefited by a ground rent of 800 sicca rupees per mensem paid by Government for the site of the Presbyterian Church of St. Andrew's.

I venture to put together a few facts connected with the history of the north side of Dalhousie Square which may be “new” to the average reader although old to the experts of your Society.

St. Anne's Church was destroyed in the disaster of 1756, and the memory of its solemn consecration was apparently soon forgotten. Where St. Andrew's Kirk now stands was once the Court House. A picture of this building may be seen in the illustration facing on p. 71 of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes of Old Calcutta* and better still in Miss Kathleen Blechynden's *Calcutta Past and Present*, p. 84. Let us trace its origin: but first we must pay some attention to—

### THE AMBASSADOR'S HOUSE.

'In 1712 the obsequious and timid merchants of Calcutta were visited by two ambassadors accredited to the Court the Great Mogul, and houses were

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\* “Happily the good people here are too busy to be at home: except the parsons, they are all usefully occupied somewhere or the other, so that I have only to leave cards; but the reverend gentlemen are always within doors in the heat of the day lying on their backs regretting breakfast, longing for tiffin, and crying out for lemonade.” Sir G. O. Trevelyan: *Life of Macaulay*, Vol. I., p. 425.

† Hyde: *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 57.

‡ Not on the site of the Roman Catholic Cathedral but presumably on the site of the old Fort. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

rented for their entertainment. "The King of Pegu's ambassador," writes Dr. Wilson, "arrived on the 23rd of August under a salute of thirty-one guns. A week later news was brought that the Persian Ambassador had arrived in the river on a Dutch ship. The Company's Persian writer was sent to wait on him with a letter of congratulation, and the junior member of the Council met him at a distance of twelve miles from Calcutta. When he reached Govindpur, Governor Russell himself went off and attended him from thence up the river to the Fort, where he was entertained with great respect. He was afterwards conducted to a house prepared for him in the town and provisions were ordered for his attendants. On the morning of the 3rd of September the Persian Ambassador sent for the Governor and Council to dine with him and acquainted them that he had kindly accepted of the provision which was made for him yesterday but would no longer be at the Company's charge. The next day the Ambassador dined with Governor Russell and the Council at Fort William. He asked Russell's advice about proceeding to Hughli while it was disturbed by the dispute between Zeyâu-d-din and Wali Beg, and was advised to wait in Calcutta for the present for nearly three months. He did not leave for Hughli till the 18th November. On this occasion the English merchants made him a present in cloth and varieties to the amount of Rs. 1,000, which he evidently appreciated, for in April 1713, when about to leave Hughli for Delhi, he asked the English to send him 'one piece of black cloth, 15 cards of fine lace, three fine hats, one black and the other two white, and a black periwig.' In return for these courtesies the Ambassador promised to do his utmost at Delhi for his Calcutta friends, and he carried with him a letter from Russell to the Emperor setting forth the English grievances."<sup>\*</sup>

Our friend the Ambassador thus remained in Bengal for some eight months before he proceeded further on his somewhat circuitous route from Persia to Delhi: let us suffer him to depart wearing, we may trust, the black periwig and one of the three fine hats. But be it noted that the house in which he has been entertained in Calcutta has become known as "the Ambassador's House." Dr. Wilson tells us that it stood at the corner of Lall Bazar and Mission Row.† Mr. S. C. Hill, probably with greater accuracy, places it on the south side of the Lall Bazar just before the Bentinck Street crossing.‡

In 1727, a royal charter was granted, and Calcutta was blessed with a Mayor and Mayor's Court. In the *Bengal Public Consultations*, January 2nd 1729, we find this entry:—

"There being wanting a proper place to hold the Mayor's Court, as well as a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and to make a Town Gaol.

<sup>\*</sup> Wilson: *The English in Bengal*, Vol. II., pp. 32-33.

† Wilson: *Old Fort William*. (*Indian Records Series*), Vol. I., p. 119, N. 1.

‡ S. C. Hill: *Bengal in 1756-57* (*Indian Records Series*.)

"AGREED, that the Ambassador's House and Compound be appropriated for that service, and that a Tax be levied on the inhabitants of this place to pay the same.\*"

This decision was communicated to the Court in a *General Letter* dated February 2nd 1729:—"Agreed in consultation January 2nd to buy the Company's House called the Ambassador's to hold the Mayor's Court, etc., in giving 6,480 rupees for it as it stands on the Company's Books, and that a Tax be levied on the Town to pay for it, as well as to build a Gaol for the Security of Prisoners, by the Patent the Amercements and Fines are to be paid the Company, they are obliged to place the necessary expenses of the several Courts to the Company's account."

Later on we hear of groans and lamentations at this tax. "No assessment," write the Council two years later (10th February 1831), "as yet made for the Town Hall, Company not as yet paid for the Ambassador's House as such it being old and weak, the Justices having order'd the inhabitants to be assessed for to build a Gaol and Townhall it shall be paid for, the inhabitants think it a hardship to bear the whole Burthen and the Company bear no Share, desisted as yet from assessing for that Reason, if necessary for the Company to bear a part hope it will be approv'd.† (General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Para. 156.) A year later the General Letter tells us:

"101. Have sold the House commonly called the Embassadour's for 3,560 rupees reserving out of it a large piece of Ground with Brick Buildings for a Town Gaol.

"129. Finding the Embassadour's House very old and not proper for a Town Hall and a Gaol, sold it at public outcry as mentioned in the 101st paragraph of this Letter, for the Ground and Brick Buildings to build a Gaol on, the Company will be paid two hundred rupees."‡

#### THE GAOL.

The Gaol now slowly erected on the site of the Ambassador's House was to be a place of some importance in the siege of 1756. Unfortunately its position is not marked on the maps:§ but it was apparently to the East of the Play House which stood in the corner formed by Bow Bazar and the east side of Dalhousie Square.

In January 1733, we read again, "the assessment of the black inhabitants for the Town Hall and Gaol, had made them uneasy."|| It may well

\* Wilson: *Old Fort William*, Vol. I., pp. 127-128.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 133-134.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 137. See also p. 136.

§ It is marked in the map given in Broome's History. Broome: *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*, Vol. I., p. 53:—"The position of the gaol was about the site of the present (1850) Lall Bazar Auction Market." [W. K. F.]

|| Wilson: *Old Fort William*, Vol. I., p. 138.

be that, in these circumstances, the Ambassador's House was utilised and no new building constructed, for in 1745 we find the following letter on record :—

To the Honourable Thomas Braddyll, Esq., President and Governor, Council of Fort William  
Honourable Sir and Sirs,

The gaol of this Town of Calcutta wanting great repairs I take the Liberty to lay the same before you and your Honour, &c., will please to give orders that the same may be repaired as at present it is hardly in a condition to secure the Prisoners. The Door Frames to the Condemned Holders quite rotten, as are also most of the Window and Door Frames throughout the prison, it is likewise leaky and the chunam dript off in several Places, which if not soon repaired will be in a much worse condition and Consequently of greater Expence to the Honourable Company

I am, with great respect,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient Humble Servant,

William Hyndle, Sheriff

Fort William.

The 23rd September 1745 \*

On June 18th in 1756.

The story of the defence of Eastern battery and the gaol on June 18th 1756 cannot be told here. Lord Macaulay has done his best to give his every "school-boy" a thoroughly misleading version of the real facts. Would that Lord Curzon's policy of "Lest we forget" had gone so far as not only to mark out for us the bastions of the old fort and the site of the black hole, but to commemorate those batteries where so fierce a struggle was maintained before the enemy reached the fort itself. We should not forget the defence of the Lall Bazar Gaol by Le Beaume and Carstairs.

In the year following the Fall of Calcutta we find the "Gaol" valued at Rs. 7,000, and it is described as one of the Honourable Company's buildings! Who had paid for it! Who had sold the Ambassador's House for Rs. 3,560? To whom was it sold?

It must have been in this Gaol that in 1775 was confined the guilty but unfortunate Nanda Kumar (Nuncomar): for the Presidency Gaol, which, as you hope, is soon to disappear, was not built until 1778. In 1787 the Lall Bazar prison was converted into the Company's Printing Works. Query when did it finally disappear?

### THE OLD COURT HOUSE.

In 1732 then the Council had sold the Ambassador's House and had sent the Mayor and his Court abroad in search of a residence, and this was found in St. Anne's Charity School. The story of the Charity School has been told in great detail by Archdeacon Hyde in his *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, and it may here be said that in scientific research into a most obscure subject and in patient honest labour the pages of this book which refer to the old Calcutta charity school can hardly be matched. Dr. Wilson's, alas! posthumous *Old Fort William* throws much new light on the subject.

\* *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 184. Bartholomew Plaiet's report is given on the page. See also p. 186.

Archdeacon Hyde recounts the strenuous endeavours of Chaplains Briercliffe and Tomlinson to establish a Church School, and the Venerable Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge apparently interested itself in the cause of Education in Calcutta so long ago as 1713. The Archdeacon says : "The impression left on the mind after reading the letters of an eminent merchant, and of the Chaplain Bellamy himself, written to the S.P.C.K. in January and February 1713 is that though the school-House was only then finished, the school had been in existence for some time before." \* Bellamy in his letter to the S.P.C.K. writes that "their Charity School-House at Calcutta is now finished and it is a handsome spacious building," etc., etc.

Dr. Wilson, however, carries us back to 1729. In the very letter (already quoted) in which the Board inform the Court of the purchase of the Ambassador's House for the purposes of the Mayor's Court, they say : "Have set on foot a charity school and for that purpose raised Rs. 23,709 12 a. 3 p. and appointed the President and Council for the time being to be Trustees."

On 17th of October 1737 a violent cyclone played havoc with the Company's warehouses, and the roomy and convenient school and the hospital were for a time requisitioned for the necessary purposes of the Company's merchandise.†

### THE CHARITY SCHOOL BECOMES THE COURT HOUSE.

Now, as we have seen, in 1732 the Council sold the Ambassador's House in which the Mayor's Court had had its temporary place of session. The blue gowned pupils at the school were few ; the building was commodious. The expedient, therefore, was adopted of using a portion of the school-house for the purposes of the Mayor's Court, a rent of 30 current rupees *per mensem* being paid to the Chaplains and Church Wardens.‡ The stages by which the Court ousted the school have not been completely traced, but it is clear, to use Archdeacon Hyde's words, that "the building variously called 'the Court House,' 'the Town House,' or 'the Town Hall,' so well known to all explorers of the bygone life of Calcutta, was none other than the Charity School House built by public subscription and the aid of the charity stock§ by the Chaplain and Church Wardens in 1731...when the Vestry ceased to use the house for school purposes it, without doubt, began, as it certainly did after the resuscitation of Calcutta, to let portions of the house not occupied by the Corporation, for

\* The boys wore the costume of the blue-coat school-boys of Christ's Hospital. Their master was one Aquire, a Goanese father received into the Church of England. Bellamy suffered in the Black Hole, and was found on the morning following that terrible tragedy, lying side by side with his son and holding his son's hand. Hyde : *Parochial Annals*, p. 88.

† Wilson : *Old Fort William*, Vol. I. pp. 152-153.

‡ But at what date does not appear. Wilson. *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

§ For the origin and nature of "the Charity Stock" see Hyde. *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

public purposes—assemblies, balls, and lotteries—to the great advantage of the charity stock.”\*

For the later story of the school-house, or court-house, call it which you like, I may draw on Miss Kathleen Blechynden's admirable *Calcutta, Past and Present*. “The Court House which Mr. Bouchier† had built stood for sixty years on the site where St. Andrew's Church now stands; it appeared not to have been seriously injured during the siege of the town, and as the Mayor's Court only occupied a part of the building, the remainder was available for various purposes. In 1762‡ the Court House was greatly enlarged by the addition of verandahs twenty-five feet broad to both floors on the south, an additional saloon with a room at each end, arches opening all around, and a dancing saloon, ‘in order that it might be used as an exchange, post office, public entertainments and assembly rooms,’ and the rent, which at this time was two thousand rupees a year, proportionately increased. It continued to increase from time to time, till, in 1778, it rose to eight hundred sicca rupees a month. These were the best days of the Old House, the Mayor's Court had been abolished a few years before, and gradually the tide of fashion ebbed away to rival the assembly rooms, the theatre and other places of entertainment; the floors became unsafe for dancing, and, finally, the ‘Old Court House’ was pulled down in 1792, and only its name remains commemorated in Old Court House Street.” (P. 85.)

In 1815 the Government granted the site of the Court House for the erection of St. Andrew's Kirk, but to this day it pays rent for that site to the English Church Free School. Thus it has come about that, while the Government of Bengal has its Council Chamber on the site of the Old St. Anne's, our Scotch brethren congregate for public worship on the site of the oldest of Anglican Charity Schools in Bengal.

In a future number, if you, Mr. Editor, will permit me, I will endeavour to sketch the story of Lyons Range, and Writers' Buildings. The present article has been written in the greatest haste to meet your request for a contribution to the first number. I must, therefore, while asking you to re-caste and even to re-write what I have written, ask the members of your Society to pardon the imperfections of an obviously incomplete inquiry. But, if an inquiry could be completed, I suppose your Society would have but a brief existence.

*Sarbiton, 1907.*

E. M. DRUMMOND.

\* Hyde: *Op. Cit.* p. 90. And consult this book for the future history of the Charity School amalgamated with the Free School in 1800.

† Miss Blechynden follows the tradition favoured by *Asiatics* which is not authentic. See Hyde: *Annals*, p. 91, where, however, there is a perplexing misprint.

‡ We wish that Miss Blechynden had given her *pièces justificatives* for this very important assertion. Most authorities say 1765.



# Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.

**M**R. C. E. BUCKLAND has done a great service to all interested in the history of British India by placing in their hands a *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. The preparation of this volume must have been a work of love; and the toil must have been, as the Dominie would say, "prodigious." The publishers are Messrs. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., of 24, High Street, Bloomsbury, and the price of the book is only seven shillings and sixpence. The easiest and least conscientious way of reviewing a work of this kind would be to ignore the good work done and to dwell much on omissions and occasional errors or misprints. From a Calcutta point of view there are, indeed, some serious omissions in the *Dictionary*, and if, from time to time, we venture to draw attention to them, it will not be because we do not highly esteem Mr. Buckland's work, but, on the contrary, it will be because we place great confidence in the excellent foundation for an ideal *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, which Mr. Buckland has already laid. We propose, from time to time, to print biographical notices of Indian worthies on slips which may be detached from the journal and pasted into copies of the present *Dictionary*. A few names at once present themselves :—

Blacquire, William Coates.

Blunt, William.

Bayley, Henry Vincent.

Bristow, Mrs.

Boughton, Gabriel. The supposed founder of Calcutta Commerce.

Brohier, John. A builder of new Fort William.

Beard, John. Governor of Fort William.

Carew, Archbishop. One of the greatest of our civic benefactors.

Camac, William. After whom Camac Street is named.

Chambers, William.

Culling Smith, J.

\* Dacres, John Milner.

Evans, The Rev. John. One of the earliest Bengal Chaplains; subsequently Bishop of Bangor (1701) and of Meath.

Eyre, Charles. "As Charnock is the father of Calcutta, so is Eyre the founder of Fort William" (Wilson). Eyre was a son-in-law of Job Charnock, and it was he who built the Charnock Mausoleum in St. John's Churchyard, probably the oldest existing building in Calcutta.

Jones, William. "Guru Jones." The architect of Bishop's College and founder of the Bengal coal commerce.





FRANCIS RAWDON,  
FIRST MARQUIS OF HASTINGS 1764-1820

Day, Sir John, of whom an excellent account has recently been given in the *Englishman*.

Knight, Robert. Of the *Statesman*.

Kirkpatrick, Catherine Aurora. The "Kitty" Kirkpatrick of Carlyle's *Memoirs* who married Captain James Winsloe.

Larkins, William. "The faithful Larkins" of Warren Hastings.

Larkins, John Pascal.

Lindsay, The Hon. Robert.

Mead, Henry. Journalist : drowned in the Hughli.

Macdonald, William Fraser.

Owen, John. Chaplain of St. John's and the forgotten founder of what is now the Mayo Hospital. Archdeacon of Richmond, 1801. Chaplain on Sir A. Wellesley's staff during the Peninsula War. Chaplain-General to the forces, 1814. Founder of the "Clericus Trust" in connection with the S.P.C.K.

Plaisted, Bartholomew.

Robison, Charles Knowles. A Police Magistrate. The architect of the Metcalfe Hall, the Ochterlony Memorial, and the fine house now occupied by the Agent of the B.-N. Railway at Garden Reach.

Robinson, T. Bishop Heber's Chaplain ; a distinguished orientalist ; Dean Vaughan's immediate predecessor as Master of the Temple. See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Showers, Charles Lionel.

Twining, William. The philanthropist and physician.

Turnbull. The great Engineer of the East Indian Railway.

Tennant, The Rev. William, D.D.

Thomason, Thomas Truebody. One of "the five Evangelical Chaplains ;" founder of the European Female Orphanage.

Udney, William.

Ward, James. Chaplain of St. John's, elected Provincial Grand Master of Bengal, but not confirmed in the appointment. Baptised W. M. Thackeray at St. John's.

These omissions are those which strike the eye of the Calcutta reader. From a wider point of view it is strange to note that, while the late Dr. Luke Rivington finds a place in the *Dictionary*, a far more distinguished Cowley Father—Father O'Neill—is ignored. But, as we have said, we do not wish our list of omissions to be regarded as censorious. Books of this kind have to pass through more than one edition before they touch upon perfection.

THE portrait of the Marquess of Hastings which, by the courtesy of Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. we are enabled to reproduce here, is from

a skilful photograph of a picture hanging in the banquet hall of the District Grand Lodge of Bengal. So little were the features of the Marquess remembered in Calcutta that the portrait of that distinguished Governor-General at Government House was for many years supposed to be a portrait of Sir Eyre Coote. Indeed, a specialist was commissioned to compare the Government House portrait with one of Sir Eyre Coote at Madras, and, we believe, he returned unenlightened, for the Madras portrait was that of a young man while the Calcutta one represents an old man. Then, the authorities in charge of the Masonic Hall unfortunately identified their portrait with the Earl of Dalhousie, and the picture, being thus erroneously labelled, the publishers of my own *Early History of Freemasonry in Bengal* were in turn misled and labelled the frontispiece of my book with a wrong name.

ANOTHER of our illustrations gives us a picture of all that remains of the once magnificent residence of the French Governors of Chandernagore at Ghiretti. Bishop Heber visited the spot eighty-three years ago. He writes :— " There is a large ruined building a few miles to the south of Chandernagore, which was the country house of the Governor during the golden days of that settlement, and of the French influence in this part of India. It was suffered to fall into decay when Chandernagore was seized by us ; but when Mr. Corrie\* came to India, was, though abandoned, still entire, and very magnificent with a noble staircase, painted ceilings, etc. ; and altogether in his opinion, the finest building of this kind in the country. It has at present a very melancholy aspect, and in some degree reminded one of Moreton-Corbet,† having like that, the remains of Grecian pillars and ornaments, with a high carved pediment. In beauty of decoration it falls far short of Moreton-Corbet in its present condition. This is the only sign of declining prosperity in this part of the country."

THE story of how the French at Chandernagore in 1792 besieged Ghiretti and led away captive their Governor, in imitation of the events at Versailles in October 1789, has been told in the *Calcutta Review* for 1845. The logic of the Frenchman would have necessitated the guillotine, but the brutal Anglo-Saxon, with his crude love of compromise, intervened, and the Governor of Chandernagore was not sacrificed to the exigences of a painful analogy.

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\* Daniel Corrie reached Bengal in 1806, the same year as Henry Martyn, and belonged to the famous group of "Evangelical Chaplains." He was appointed Archdeacon of Calcutta in 1823 and thrice administered the See during vacancies. In 1835 he was consecrated to the newly created See of Madras. Died 5th of February 1837.

† A ruined building in Shropshire.

THE building of the house at Ghiretti is usually ascribed to Dupleix. Local traditions always attach themselves to the best known names. The Dutch Admiral Stavorinus, who came up the Hughli in the year 1769-1770, when Chevalier was the Governor of Chandernagore, tells us "further down, about half-way between Chandernagore and Serampore, is a place called Garetti. Here, on the same side with Chandernagore, the French Governor has built a noble house, or rather a palace, and has laid out an extensive and pleasant garden. And in this neighbourhood the English have a military camp where often one thousand men, and sometimes more, are encamped." The site of this old English camping-ground at Champdani is clearly marked in the existing survey maps. From July 10, 1778 to 1783, Chandernagore was occupied by the English, and Sir Eyre Coote claimed Ghiretti by virtue of a *sanad* from Nawab Kassim. To the fury of Sir Philip Francis, the claim was recognised by Warren Hastings, and here with Sir Eyre Coote resided his young wife (*nee* Susanna Hutchinson, a daughter of a former Governor of St. Helena) and her inseparable girl friend, "the Miss Molly B—" of Mrs. Fry's reminiscences—, Miss Bazett. At Champdani, in 1785, Warren Hastings reviewed that veteran band of warriors, who, under Colonel Pearse, had left Midnapur, at the end of 1780, five thousand strong to return less than two thousand in number.

While we have thoughts of Chandernagore in our minds, we should like to refer our readers to the admirable *Brief History of the Hughli District*, by Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford, M.B., I.M.S., published by the Bengal Secretariat Press. The book, which only costs one rupee and four annas, is full of valuable information. Colonel Crawford, however, is mistaken in supposing that the Church of Saint Louis (built in 1726) is still standing. The existing Roman Catholic Church in Chandernagore is a very modern building, and its dedication is, not to Saint Louis, but to the Sacred Heart. The oldest existing building in Chandernagore is, most probably, the Chapel of the Convent, which seems to have what was intended to be a bomb-proof roof and has gates bearing the date 1720. There is a tradition that this building was originally an Armenian Church.

IN the volumes on *Lord Amherst* in the "Rulers of India" series there is the following passage (p. 56):—"We may note some passages that illustrate the daily round of viceregal life. One which bears date January 5, 1825, at which time Lady Amherst had already sojourned more than a whole year at Fort William, tells of a romantic excursion by river, in the cool morning air, to the ruins of Gaukatchi, which lie just opposite the French at Chandernagore. Very delightful the ruins must have been if we may judge from the pen-and-ink sketch of the 'entrance to the Fort'—a fine remnant of the Tudor-Pathan

style. Walls and arches are overgrown with saplings and shrouded in palm trees." Can Gaukatchi be a reading of "Gaurulia" of some older maps? Can Gaurulia be the old fort of Shamnagar? It would be delightful if the Amherst family could be induced to allow us to produce here some of the letters and journals of Lady Amherst which, of necessity, have been only sketchily dealt with in the volume on her husband in the "Rulers of India" series. Would Lord Curzon help us in this matter?

OUR first expedition had the old Danish town of Serampur—Fredericksnagore—as its objective: but unfortunately the state of the river rendered it unwise to attempt to take the large vessel, which the Port Commissioners had kindly placed at the disposal of the Society, so far up the river. So instead of visiting Serampur, we went down the river, and with, Capt. Petley as our guide, visited the quaint Chinese temple at Achipur. A full and illustrated account of the expedition will appear in our October number. In the meanwhile I append a list of suggested expeditions.

1. Champdani and Ghiretti. By the steamer leaving Hatkhali Ghat at 7-30 A.M. By ticca gharri to Champdani. Inspect two European graves of interest. To Ghiretti. Lunch at Chandernagore and return by train.
2. To Satgaon—the Portuguese *Porto Piqueno* and to Triveni Ghat—by train.
3. To Tarkeshar—by train.
4. To the old Fort at Shamnagar—if possible by the river.
5. To Hijili—the refuge of Job Charnock in 1688.
6. To Bansberia—as far as Hughli by steamboat: then by a ticca-ghari or by cycles: return by train.
7. The battlefield of Plassey. (Next cold weather, when it is hoped that the services of Mr. Bradley Birt, I.C.S., may be at our disposal).
8. Chandernagore.
9. Chinsurah, Hughli, Bandel.
10. Barrackpore.
11. Cossipore and Dum Dum.
12. Murshidabad, Berhampore and Cossim Bazar.
13. Tamlook [the old Buddhist sacred city]—the "James and Mary"—the Magazine of Fort Mornington—Fulta (the place of refuge of those who escaped in 1756)—Budge Budge and the ruins of its Fort.
14. The Arsenal of Fort William.
15. St. John's Church.
16. The old Park Street Cemeteries.
17. Serampur.

The Archdeacon of Calcutta, at our inaugural meeting, reminded us of the interest attaching to the house now occupied by the Loretto Convent at the end of Middleton Row. The inscription, which Lord Curzon placed on the house, runs as follows :

This house was the Garden Reach House of Mr. Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, 1760-64. It was occupied by Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, 1774-82, and also by Bishop Heber for a few months in 1824.

Bishop Heber writes of the house:—"We are, as in my last letter I prepared you to expect, returned to Calcutta, where we are established in a house so large as to quite exceed all our ideas of comfort. I feel almost lost in a dining room sixty-seven feet long, a drawing-room of the same dimensions, and study supported by arcades, and though low in proportion to its size, forty-five feet square." The late Dr. C. R. Wilson, I believe, identified these rooms by their measurements with existing rooms in No. 7/1, Middleton Row—in Heber's day "Middleton Place." Of the house and its park the Rev. J. Long has written in his picturesque fashion. "It was surrounded," he tells us, "by a fine wall, a large tank was in front, a guard of *sipahis* was allowed to patrol about the house and grounds at night, and occasionally firing off their guns and muskets to keep off the dacoits." It is said that in Sir Elijah's day, palki-bearers required double fares for going so far beyond town limits as this old "garden house" then was, and that servants returning to Calcutta would go in gangs "leaving their good clothes behind" for fear of being stripped by dacoits on the way. Middleton Row itself was the private drive leading from the house to the "Burying Ground Road," which now, either as "Park Street" or Badamtollah (Almond Grave), commemorates Sir Elijah's Park. All this is fairly well known, but the research of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson has carried the history of No. 7/1 Middleton Row behind the days of Sir Elijah and even those of Henry Vansittart. The garden (and probably the garden house) can now be traced back to 1749, when it belonged to William Frankland, one of the gentlemen who escaped, not without some loss to their reputation, on the ship *Dodaly*, from the horrors of 1756. The *Bengal Public Consultations*, January 5, 1761, show.

"There being no garden house for the refreshment of the Governor when the Lord of Business will permit him to retire, and we being convinced the Honourable Company will have no objection to so reasonable an indulgence.

"Agreed we purchase the Garden House formerly belonging to Mr. Frankland for that use, at the price of 10,000 Arcot Rupees, which we esteem it is very well worth."



On 19th of February, 1762, the Court replied : " Most certainly the purchasing of Mr. Frankland's house for, as you mention, the refreshment of the Governor when the multiplicity of business will permit him to leave the town, at the expense of the Company's [Arcot] Rs. 10,000 is, notwithstanding your allegation to the contrary, a superfluous charge, and must, as in reason it ought, be borne by the Governor at his own private expense ; this is the more necessary and reasonable, since the noble appointments settled upon the Governor by our directions last season which are intended to take in all the expenses he may be put to on the Company's account. "

The verbage of the Court's reply is a reproduction of a letter from Bengal, dated 16th of January, 1761. A general letter from Bengal to the Court, dated 30th of October, 1762, shows that Vansittart " paid the purchase money of the Garden House, and the cost of the Outhouses built since....."

To put the matter as simply as possible, No. 7/1, Middleton Row is in all probability the oldest existing Government House. Of Henry Vansittart, we hope that at no distant date we may be able to write at greater length. It will, however, be remembered that Vansittart, with Colonel Francis Forde (the conqueror of the French at Condore and the Dutch at Biddera) and Luke Scrafton (Clive's agent in the unpleasant transaction with Omichund), perished at sea in the wreck of the *Aurora*.

THOSE who care for the " fair beauty " of the Maidan are simply counting the days of the hideous Presidency Jail ; but before it goes it should be scientifically photographed. Tradition will have it that the central block was once a hunting box of Suraj-i-Daula, and the native name for the jail, *Hurribari*, is confidentially appealed to in support of the tradition. Nothing, however, can be derived from the native name " the deer park," for in the heart of the city, long before the present jail came into existence, there was a prison known as the " Old Hurribari "—the home of his Majesty's domesticated pets ! A friend has recently suggested to me that the central block in the Presidency Jail may, perhaps, be the garden house which Warren Hastings sold " for the refreshment " of Mir Jaffir when he visited Calcutta in 1764, but, so far as I have been able to trace the history of the Presidency goal, it was built in 1778, and the walls, which encompass it, date from 1783.

IN this old goal was imprisoned for debt the first of all Calcutta Journalists, the truculent James Augustus Hicky. Sidney Grier, in her *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, has been able to give us some information which carries the story of this unfortunate journalist beyond the date at which Dr. Busteed parted company with him.

MAJOR D. M. MOIR, I.M.S., M.D., whose recent death has caused so much sorrow in Calcutta, contributed to the *Indian Medical Gazette*, in the year 1903, a series of "Notes on the Origin of the Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta." Major Moir, after lengthy researches at the Imperial Records Department, has shown that the Central Block of the old hospital was once the "garden house" of John Zachariah Kiernander, the founder of the Old Mission Church. The records reveal the "First Protestant Missionary" in the character of a building contractor. At a consultation held on the 25th of April, 1768, the Council decided to purchase the garden house for the sum of 98,900 Arcot rupees. Kiernander resided at the Garden House while the East and West Blocks were in the building in order to personally supervise the work. In a letter dated 7th of May, he writes: "The first House, or Center Building, was delivered up and taken possession of June 20, 1769, being 12 months less 7 days before the limited time of the contract. The West Wing was begun to be inhabited by the sick people, April 2, 1770, and the East Wing on June 2nd by the new recruits." As we have been watching the gradual demolition of the old hospital, few of us have been aware that a person so interesting as Kiernander was its builder. I have to thank my friend Mr. P. Dias, of the Imperial Record Department, for the loan of a reprint of Major Moir's valuable articles. It would have not occurred to me to search the columns of a medical paper for articles on old Calcutta. Major Moir, we are afraid, seems to have placed too great a confidence in Carey's *Good Old Days of John Company*. Carey tells us that, when Kiernander arrived in Calcutta in 1758, "there was no chaplain in the city, and the service was read by a merchant who was allowed £50 per annum for his services." If the reader cares to turn to page 119 of Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, he will find that Kiernander was warmly welcomed and well supported by the then chaplain of St. John's, the Rev. Henry Butler. Kiernander's senile reminiscences always tended to represent the Calcutta of his early days as a "city of idolaters," and it is a serious misfortune that Sir J. W. Kaye and Dr. W. Smith, in their sketches of the great evangelical leaders in Bengal at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, have repeated every yarn which has the effect of darkening the background for the supposed benefit of their herbes' portraits.

• LORD CURZON'S proposed monument to Clive in Calcutta will awaken the interest of every member of this Society. Lord Clive, one of the finest fighting men the world has ever known, was after all not a soldier, but a civilian, and if in India there are still those who depreciate Plassey, there should be no one so ignorant that for them Lord Clive's strenuous attempt to

redeem the Honourable Company's fame from the dishonour of the days of Vansittart and Verelst is a thing to be lightly esteemed. Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 11, Hastings Street, Calcutta, have opened an account for the credit of the proposed monument, and we may, perhaps, venture to say that those who cannot afford to send large donations, might well send in what they can afford to contribute, for a large number of small subscriptions is a more eloquent testimony than princely gifts from a select number. Our Treasurer would be prepared to receive and acknowledge donations.

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WE extract the following paragraph from the *Statesman* of Saturday, the 15th June last :—"A correspondent writes : 'Perhaps the most interesting and picturesque monument in Calcutta is the one, in South Park Street Cemetery, over Major-General Charles Stuart, better known as 'Hindu' Stuart. Having made a close study of Hinduism, he is said to have conformed to its practices inasmuch as he used to walk from his residence in Wood Street to bathe in the river daily, and made a collection of idols which he took with him on the occasion of his revisiting England. Be that as it may, old 'Hindu' Stuart was buried with Christian rites (by the Rev. J. R. Henderson, Junior Presidency Chaplain, St. John's Cathedral) on the 1st of April 1828. His tomb is the model of a Hindu temple with a carved stone gate-way. Of the latter, however, the upper half appears to have been taken off, and has, for some time past been lying across the pathway ; while the head of the deity that once surmounted it has been placed carelessly on the floor inside the tomb. This is a disgraceful state of things, and the monument ought to be restored at once by the Burial Board, one of whose members some time ago expressed himself strongly in favour of its preservation. Here is something, too, of which the Calcutta Historical should take note.'"

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MR. E. W. MADGE, of the Imperial Library and a member of the Calcutta Historical Society, is preparing for publication, in book form, the articles on Old Calcutta which he has contributed during the last few years to the *Statesman* and the *Englishman*. The articles are being recast, and the book, which will be published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., will, it is expected, be dedicated to Dr. Busteed. There is scarcely anyone who knows the story of Calcutta and its worthies so well as does Mr. E. W. Madge.

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THE following article which appeared in the *Statesman* of 25th June is worthy of being kept on record.

"For some time past extensions to the premises of the Calcutta Girls' High School have been in progress by Messrs. Mackintosh, Burn and Co., in order to prepare the foundations of a proposed new building in the school

compound, and near Prinsep's Street excavations of a some what heavy and deep character have been necessary. Some time after these were begun, and when a depth of about six feet had been reached, the labourers employed on the task came across a number of bones. These were first of all believed not to be human, but examination proved otherwise, and they were declared to be human remains of great age. The men then declined to work, saying that the site was formerly a cemetery, and in the end special men had to be engaged to complete the excavations.

"Years ago, it appears to have been common talk in the school among the girls and teachers, that the land now used as a compound had at one time been a Mahomedan cemetery. Near the entrance in Prinsep's Street, and inside the premises, there is a big mound on which palm trees now grow, and this is declared to be the grave of some wealthy Mahomedan who died many years ago. It is believed that this plot of land was reserved to the vendor when the Methodist Church purchased the site, and that even to this time he, or his descendant, receive a nominal rent for the same.

"Enquiries made from old residents in the district did not elicit much information. Two or three of them interviewed yesterday, and one of these was a very old lady, declared that no cemetery or burial ground ever existed in the locality, and they could not account for the bones having been found where they were. Many years ago, however, there was a large firm of undertakers doing business in the vicinity, and it is believed that in those days medical students used to make use of a portion of the premises to conduct illicit *post mortem* examinations for the purposes of study.

"The school authorities decline to believe that the bones found are human, and suggest that they are the remains of animals buried there."

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THREE pamphlets have been sent to me *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India and Inscriptions on their Tombs, Agra (1580-1803)* by the Rev. H. Hosten, S. J. (Calcutta Orphan Press) is a singularly able bit of work in a difficult field of research. The *History of the Savana Family of Brahmins* (Star Press, Cuttack) is condensation of a part of Mr. A. K. Ray's *Short History of Calcutta* in the volumes of the Census of India. Vol. VII., Part. I. In a privately printed pamphlet Mr. Harinath De gives translations of Ibn Batutah's account of Bengal written about 1349 A.D., and Hafiz' Ghiyasuddin Ode. Mr. De's most valuable pamphlet should be rescued from obscurity.

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MR. P. SOMMERVILLE sends me some interesting photographs of historical tombs in the Park Street Cemetery and some interesting notes which I hope to make full use of in our next number.

IN the footnote on p. 9 of the present issue, in attempting to correct a mistake by a slip of the pen I have merely repeated it. Mr. Hyde's discovery was that the first husband of the first Mrs. Warren Hastings was *not* Captain Dougald Campbell but Captain John Buchanan. In the text I referred to her tomb as if it were at Berhampur ; it is, as a matter of fact, at Cosimbazar—a distinction without much difference at the present day.

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A lady sends me, too late however for insertion, an obituary notice of the late Lord Liverpool, in which his descent from the Begum Johnson is mentioned.

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IT should perhaps be hardly necessary to say that no responsibility attaches to the Society for opinions or statements appearing in the pages of *Bengal, Past and Present*. My own work, for which I alone am responsible, is either signed or initiated.

WALTER K. FIRMINER, B. D.,  
*Editor.*

*Kidderpore Vicarage,*  
CALCUTTA.



# Secretary's Pages.

**T**HE object of these notes is to keep members and the public in general posted as regards the work the Society has done, is doing and it is contemplated to embark upon. Here also will be found official notifications financial, secretarial and otherwise. The Honorary Secretary takes this opportunity of requesting members to keep him informed of any suggestions they may have to make and reminds them that it is necessary for all to keep a vigilant eye upon our historical relics.

## PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY.

The Calcutta Historical Society was founded on the 27th of April 1907, a memorable day and one of intense excitement to those who were interested in the project. There were eighty people present and the inaugural meeting, a report of which appears elsewhere, was accounted a success. Since then our numbers have grown to 136 and we have secured the patronage and support of not only the highest in the land, but of some of the greatest living authorities on old Anglo-India. This is as it should be. Our members are gathered from the best sources and we can count among them judges, lawyers, scholars, officials, merchants, architects, engineers, journalists, clergymen and enlightened Indian gentlemen. The existence of the Society is already known throughout India and Burma and our name has reached the Homeland. We had an application for membership from the far off colony of Jhelum the other day. The first number of the magazine will yet further popularize our body, and at this point I must mention what few of our members know and that is that the idea of having a magazine was that of our worthy Treasurer, Mr. Wilmot Corfield, while the suggestion of the Society itself was that of our friend John De Grey Downing. The rapid growth of the Society is due to the energy of all the members conjointly who have worked unceasingly in enlisting the sympathy of their friends. We are indebted also to the Press, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, for giving us a splendid send-off. One of the most important achievements of the Society recently has been the passing of its rules. After mature and expert consideration—it could hardly be otherwise with the quantity of legal knowledge the Society has at its disposal—the Rules were put before a General Meeting held in the Hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on Saturday, the 22nd of June, and with the exception of a few corrections were adopted unanimously. I venture to say that they are complete and ought to meet all cases. I am glad that the meeting did not fail to accord a vote of thanks to Mr. W. J. Simmons for all the trouble he has taken to draw up the Memorandum of Association and the Rules in the first instance. Copies of the Rules are now available from the Honorary Secretary. Another important item has been the registration of the Society

under Act XXI of 1860, the operation having been performed with due legalities the other day with the valuable services of Mr. W. J. Simmons.

### OUR FIRST PRESIDENT.

It is indeed in every way appropriate that the subject of our frontispiece, the Hon'ble Sir Francis Maclean, K.C.I.E., Chief Justice of Bengal, should have become the first President of the Calcutta Historical Society, as Sir Francis himself pointed out at our memorable inaugural meeting there was perhaps a certain fitness in asking him to preside as the successor of one who played so grave and so important a part in the early days of Calcutta History; and it is equally true that there are few offices in Calcutta, nay even in India, which can trace their origin back for the best part of 150 years or can show an unbroken line of descent over that long period. Since 1896 Sir Francis has filled the judicial chair of Sir Elijah Impey and during that period has been associated with some important measures in this Presidency. Born on the 13th of December 1844, Sir Francis is the third son of the late Mr. Alexander Maclean of Barrow Hedges, Carshalton. He was educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated, taking his Master of Arts degree early in the sixties. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1868 and eighteen years later became Queen's Counsel and subsequently a Bencher in 1892. Sir Francis represented the Liberal interest of Mid-Oxfordshire, Warwick, in Parliament from 1885 to 1886 and sat as a Liberal Unionist from 1886 to 1891. In the latter year he was appointed Master in Lunacy and five years later was knighted and came out to India as Chief Justice of Bengal. Sir Francis was Chairman of the Indian Famine Relief Committees from 1897 to 1900, and during this period he received his Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire and was decorated in 1900 with the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal in recognition of valuable services rendered to Government. The Calcutta University has also known Sir Francis Maclean when he acted as its Vice-Chancellor from 1898 to 1899. Our President is a well-known figure in the social world of "The Settlement" and we trust he will be so for some considerable time to come.

### THE CORNWALLIS MEMORIAL.

As far back as 1803 was executed one of the most beautiful memorials that Calcutta can boast—the Memorial to the first Marquis of Cornwallis, Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal from 1786 to 1793 and again in 1805. This beautiful work of art was accomplished by James Bacon (junior) and is worthy of better recognition than it now receives. Hidden away in the ground floor of the Town Hall, amidst a forest of pillars and props, it is not surprising to learn that a bare minority of the public is aware even of its existence. Certain it is that unless one goes with the express intention of seeing the statue he is more likely than not remain

ignorant of its whereabouts. The gallant tamer of the "Tiger of Mysore" is depicted in classic Roman garb with a laurel branch in his right hand and a short Roman broadsword in his left. On either side of the pedestal on which the enormous figure stands are female allegorical figures which are in themselves beautiful works of art. The whole is of solid white marble, and its dimensions are 15 feet by 10 feet 6 inches; its height being over 16 feet.

The following is the inscription on the back of the pedestal and speaks for itself:—

In honour of

The most noble Marquis Cornwallis, K.G., Governor-General of India,  
from September MDCCCLXXXVI to October MDCCXCIII,

Who by an administration uniformly conducted on the principles of wisdom, equity and sound policy improved the internal resources of the country, promoted the happiness of its inhabitants, conciliated the friendship of the native powers, confirmed the attachment of the allies of the Company, and established the reputation of the British name in Hindustan, for good-faith and moderation. By fixing in perpetuity, the public demand for the landed-revenue, he gave to the proprietors of the soil, for the first time, a permanent interest in it, and by the formation of a code of regulations for every department of the Government, he bestowed on the natives of India, the benefit of a constitution, and a security, before unknown, in the enjoyment of their rights and property. Forced into a war, by the unprovoked aggression of Tippoo Sultan, his eminent military talents in the conduct of it, were no less conspicuous than his moderation in victory.

As a lasting memorial of these important services, and as a testimony  
of their respect and esteem for a Governor-General,  
under whose administration public spirit was encouraged,  
and merit liberally rewarded, this statue was  
erected by the British inhabitants of Bengal.

A. D. MDCCCIII.

Since the formation of the Calcutta Historical Society this beautiful memorial has received some attention and one of the first acts of the Society was to approach the Municipality regarding the cleaning of the figures and greater care of this object of historical interest. It was found on enquiry that the suitors attending the Municipal Magistrate's Court used to squirt betel juice over the Memorial and this fact, together with the neglected condition of the statue and a suggestion to move it to a more deserving site were brought to the notice of the Chairman of the Corporation. It is gratifying to find that immediate action has been promised and in a letter to the Honorary Secretary the Secretary to the Corporation says:—

SIR,—With reference to your letter of the 27th May last, regarding the statue of Lord Cornwallis, in the ground floor of the Town Hall, the Chairman is obliged to you for bringing to his notice the neglected condition of this beautiful piece of sculpture. He has ordered that it should be cleaned and a railing should be placed round it. Also that the Police Guard at the Town Hall should see that the suitors attending the Municipal Magistrate's Court

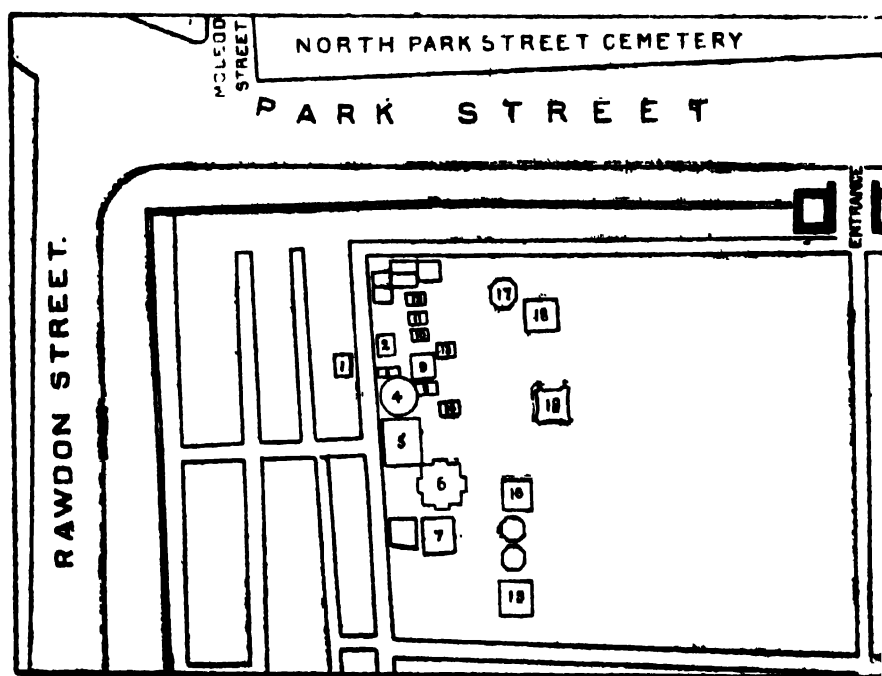


do not squirt betel juice over the figures on the Memorial, or soil it in any way. The Chairman would be glad to give it a more prominent position befitting its artistic and historical value, but it is too heavy to be placed on the upper floor and is too large to place in the north entrance and the southern verandah is already occupied by the statue of Warren Hastings, so that he cannot see any better position for it at present. Its ultimate destination is the Victoria Memorial Hall.—Yours faithfully (Sd.) P. N. MOOKERJEE.

This letter was put before the Executive Committee and it was unanimously resolved to thank the Chairman of the Corporation for his prompt and sympathetic action in the matter. In the meantime there are several suggestions as to an appropriate site for the statue pending the erection of the Victoria Memorial Hall; but on the whole it is considered impracticable and inadvisable to move the Memorial.

### THE PARK STREET CEMETERIES.

It is matter of common knowledge that for very many years past the South Park Street Cemeteries have been in a shocking state of neglect and



N.W. CORNER SOUTH PARK STREET CEMETERY

- |  |                                      |                                     |   |
|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Mrs. M. Kinsey.   | 2. Colonel George Monson (unnamed.)  | 3. Lady Anne Vane Monson (unnamed.) | 4. Ann, Henrietta, Edward Collins and Jane Marriott Chambers. |
| 5. Edward Wheeler.   | 6. Mrs. Elizabeth Barwell (unnamed.) | 7. George Hurst.                    | 8. Sir John Clavering, K.C.B.                                 |
| 9. Charles Stanford Playdell (1st Commissioner of Police, 1779.) | 10. Mrs. A. Wedderburn.              | 11. John Sampson.                   | 12. Dr. Rowland Jackson.                                      |
| 13. Warren Hastings Larkins.                                     | 14. Captain Robert Samuel Fielder.   | 15. Augustus Cleveland.             | 16. Sir Alexander Seton, Bar.                                 |
| 17. Major-General John Gerstin.                                  | 18. Colonel Thomas Deane Pearce.     | 19. (Nameless grave.)               |   |

many of the historical tombs within them have shared the general decay. The Society has brought the matter to the notice of the Bengal Government and has received a reply from the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the General Department saying that the matter is under consideration. In the meantime work has been started on the, at one time condemned, tomb of Mrs. Barwell, better known, perhaps, as "the celebrated Miss Sanderson." It is hoped to be able to place an inscription on this tomb after it has been repaired. In fact it has been suggested that Lord Curzon be asked to write an epitaph for it. The tombs of General Sir John Clavering, the Hon'ble George Monson and Lady Monson and others of equal historical importance are in the vicinity of Mrs. Barwell's monument. Those interested may identify these tombs by the plan here published. The tombs of the Monsons lie side by side and are flat masonry ones.

### EXCURSIONS.

Although the excursion to Serampore arranged for the 21st June had to be abandoned owing to the unsettled state of the weather, a very pleasant trip was undertaken, under the guidance of Captain Petley, to Achipore, a little known locality, taking us back to the days of Lord Clive. The trip will be more fully dealt with in our next issue. The excursions the dates of which will be notified in due course may not be undertaken in the order laid down as a great deal depends upon the weather and a lot more on holidays. The value and interest of the Society's excursions lie in the fact that we are in a position to have all places of interest explained on the spot by those who know most about them.

ROBERT DUNBAR,  
*Honorary Secretary.*



## Members' Note Book.

**W**HAT has become of the statue of Mercury which for many years occupied a prominent position on the *maidan* nearly opposite the old United Service Club? It disappeared during the cold season of 1905-06, and I well remember the last time I saw it, then lying prone upon the grass one very cold morning. A friend had just seated himself by me in a passing tramcar and, as he sat down, remarked, "Pretty cold, isn't it?" I replied "Yes, see how the mercury's fallen!" But he didn't see it—he came from Aberdeen. I feel sure many would welcome the return of the statue to public life notwithstanding the fact that latterly some misguided person had painted it a vivid green. It always seemed to me though too small for the position it occupied, but in either Eden or Curzon Gardens a suitable nook could surely be found for it.

W. C.

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To whom does the old Mahomedan burial ground in Lower Circular Road belong, to the Mahomedan community, to Government, or the Corporation? Its picturesque decaying tombs are of considerable interest and deserve protection and neater surroundings. At present these crumbling relics of a bygone day show themselves above a dismal and chaotic arrangement of odds and ends of building material and unsightly rubbish. Were they enclosed by a wall and railings of an appropriate style and set off by suitable shrubs they would greatly add to the charm of the attractive thoroughfare they now disfigure.

W. C.

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THE following verses by a member of our Council appeared in the *Empire* about the time that the formation of our Society was first suggested. They were accompanied by the earliest published photograph of the new statue of the late Sir John Woodburn unveiled in Dalhousie Square by His Excellency the Earl of Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of residents and visitors on the date mentioned. Both the verses and the photograph are now published here by kind permission of the *Empire*.—





THE SIR JOHN WOODBURN STATUE

(A) the note of "The Future" memorandum

## JOHN WOODBURN.

*Calcutta, 22nd of March 1907.*

Let the traffic pause a little, here beside the central square  
 With the flapping banners flinging silken splendour on the air ;  
 Bid the cannon from the rampart speed the tale to town and tide  
 How a ruler from the Northland greatly lived and bravely died  
 Lift aloft his sculptured semblance by the city's stateliest street  
 With the waters of the " red tank " lapping lazy at his feet.

Well we mind that autumn morning when the sombre tidings sped  
 To the corners of an empire, telling of the gallant dead.  
 Then we knew the people's pity marked by many a goodly tear,  
 Watched the drawn procession wending 'neath the arch from Belvedere,—  
 All the tale of high endeavour, all the care for India's fame  
 Quenched in bitter pain at ending—splendid—when the darkness came.

Lift aloft that all may see him latest of the hero band  
 Pedestalled throughout the borders of an unforgetting land.  
 Holwell's pillar, Charnock's pavement, re-illumine the spacious days  
 When the Nawab's shield was shattered at the parting of the ways,  
 And the East and West engrappled, dark with dawn and guile with might,  
 Saw Clive's reddened blade go leaping to the front of Plassey's fight.

Hastings, slim and slight of stature, wondrous brows and eyes of flame,  
 Weaver of an empire's fabric, welder of an empire's frame.  
 Outram, fearless and resistless, keen to smite though kingdoms reel,  
 Mayo, passing, still the helmsman, stricken by fanatic steel.  
 Canning, calm amid the furious shrieking of a random town—  
 Steadfast to the call of duty when the world was falling down.

Marble Heber, kneeling, saintly, where the sunbeam shrines the fane,  
 Singer sweet in deathless numbers heralding the Christian's gain  
 Napier far on Afric plateau lustre won for India's star,  
 Roberts, who beyond the passes forced the Flag to Kandahar.  
 Dufferin, lord of ancient Ava, velvet-gloved in court and fray  
 Who, iron-handed, wrung from horrors green and golden Mandalay.

Lawrence, saviour of a province, Peel and Hardinge of renown,—  
 And that maid who roused from slumber shrinking wept to wear a crown—  
 She the stalwart tender worker in an age of strenuous zeal,  
 Guardian of her England's honour, wardress of her Empire's weal.  
 And (to come ) grim Lhasa's leaguer, clarion-voiced, of pregnant pen,  
 King-like Curzon, bold, upstanding ; Man where England's race are Men.

Furl the flag and sheathe the sabre ; India honours England's sway—  
 Hear the belching bastion thunder forth the deference that we pay.  
 Leave we man and horse uplifted high for all the world to see—  
 Silent watchers down the vista of the days that are to be.  
 Fought the fight and crowned the victor—join the people's loud "well done"  
 By the terraced waters flushing scarlet to the western sun.

DAK

The following lines were also contributed to the *Empire* by the same writer.

## PLASSEY, 23RD JUNE 1757.

"In a letter to the *Times* Lord Curzon advocates the erection of a personal memorial to Clive either in London or Calcutta—if not in the Victoria Memorial Hall, then on the maidan.

"The near approach of the 23rd June, the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Plassey, has prompted the suggestion of this tardy commemoration of Clive's greatest exploit, while in India. The sole reminder of the great Captain is a portrait in the Council Chamber of Government House (though the principal business street of the city has been named after him), and it was to remedy the national neglect that his lordship undertook the commemoration of the site of the battle by a suitable pillar with inscriptions."

The sullen sky burns brazen and the mordant dust lies brown  
 Where the brooding vulture lingers by the fortress in the town.  
 The rampart waits unguarded and the shot-rent bastion lies  
 Steel bosomed to the fury of the unrelenting skies ;—  
 For the world is spent and weary for the days that are to be  
 By the shattered fort of England, where the Hughli seeks the sea.

The fort a-skirt the Hughli saw the riven world a-flame  
 When the Nawab of the Moghul with his Moormen rabble came.  
 The day was all a horror and the night was all a hell  
 Till the stricken Flag of England to the foes of England fell—  
 As the flying ships sped seaward with the worn and recreant Drake,  
 And the curse of broken fighters pounding hot upon their wake.

What need to tell the story ? What need to place the blame—  
 When the fame of England's manhood has outlasted England's shame ?  
 Stream Holwell's name for ever on the world's white Hero scroll,  
 Till the Moghul rules at Delhi, and the river fails to roll,—  
 And think on that fell Chamber with its tale of dreadful slain,  
 The cradle of an Empire, where the Hughli makes the main.

White sails are bellying bravely on the waters far away,  
 For the welcome winds are with them where they beat up from the Bay ;

And the murmur of the moving in the cordage as they glide  
 Is as sweet a strain as ever met the music of the tide.  
 They are near the James and Mary,—they are well across the bar,—  
 They are coming, Clive is coming, with the rise of India's star.  
 They are here, the town is stirring with the run of hasty feet  
 Of eager folk aheading for each river wending street,—  
 And the palms are swaying gaily to the note of temple bells,  
 And the drone of happy drummers and the shriek of twisted shells,—  
 Fling marigold and lotus to the tide with lavish hand—  
 While the dome of scarlet Kali flames a welcome from the land.  
 Oh the fort that fronts the Hughli is with gallant cheers a-ring,  
 For the leaguer of far Arcot and the leaguer's gallant King,—  
 See him press the crimsoned stairway of the wasted water-gate,  
 And mount the great embrasure, where the Council-Writers wait.  
 For the Moorman's rule is broken, and the day of doubt is done,  
 Now the flaunting Flag of England meets the kiss of India's sun.  
 What need to tell the story? What need to spread the fame  
 Of the vexer of the Frenchman, who avenged the city's shame?  
 Bid the bending mother tell it as she croons her babe to sleep—  
 Bid the fisher chant it nightly where he goads the star-lit deep—  
 Bid the war-worn land proclaim it swerved from darkness into light,  
 When Clive's red blade went leaping to the front of Plassey's fight.  
 There's a wealth of purple wonder in the city fair and wide,  
 Where the keels of all the nations plough the unresisting tide,—  
 For the Kings of earth are wooers and the sovereign peoples wait,  
 All eager for the favour of her golden water-gate—  
 She is Asia, silken Asia, where she heads the shining Bay,  
 For the reddened reeds of Plassey bent to England's charge that day.  
 And all a-down the ages as her waters take the breeze  
 Full-freighted with the cargoes of the users on the seas—  
 While her marts o'erlap their borders and her mighty cities thrive,  
 Will the heart of India kindle at the valiant name of Clive,—  
 For the carver of an Empire wrung from havoc, pain and pride,  
 When the West and East together wrought in wonder side by side.  
 Lift aloft his sculptured presence where the kindly maidan greets  
 With a silken southern fervour all the dwellers of the streets,—  
 Lift aloft his sculptured presence where the park is shewing gay  
 With the lilac-laden glory of our London town to-day,—  
 Where Chowringhee, green and golden, river-girdled, eats the breeze—  
 Where the terraced palace banners gleam across the London trees.



Heed not faction's shrill disfavour fed by slander's pigmy-pen—  
 Mouthing mood of mad misguidance—phrasing froth of meagre men.  
 Think on those who ploughed the furrow when the dawn was grim and grey—  
 Look around and lo! the harvest glads the glowing world to-day—  
 Hear a voice we love acclaiming Clive's great name across the sea—  
 Clive and England! Clive and Empire! *What will India's answer be?*

DAK.

DR. BUSTEED in a recent letter writes:—"I duly received the Newspapers too you were good enough to post to me. The *Englishman*, with Mr. Dunbar's well-timed article on Miss Sanderson and her colossal monument I sent on to my old friend the "A. C." of the *Pioneer* poem long ago; he used to be much pleased at the epithet 'celebrated' applied to her in G. F. Grand's narrative. I was glad to see, too, a sensible and practical letter from another well-informed correspondent of the *Englishman*, Mr. De Grey Downing, advocating the society which you and Mr. Dunbar have at heart. Pray give my compliments and hearty good wishes to Mr. Dunbar for success in his project. To interest the gentlemen you name in the undertaking would, I am sure, be a move in the right direction. Lord Curzon would be a host in himself. But the scheme can only depend on residents in India, well-wishers, and sympathisers, and especially in Calcutta. The difficulty of firmly establishing and providing in some degree for the future of so much needed a society is the non-abiding character of the English community. They come and go and their places have to be taken by new men who have to learn and recognize the duty of and the value of an Historical Monument Preservation Society. It would be well, therefore, to let its scope from the start be catholic, enlisting the sympathies and co-operation of the East Indian and Native gentry who are not likely to be the mere birds of passage that the imported Europeans are. Another name that you mention, Lord Avebury, recalls to me that when many years ago a building project was mooted which might have swept away the remains of the old arcade in Fort William (with its characteristic and shapely columns and arches). I wrote to the then Sir John Lubbock bespeaking his influence if the matter were proceeded with and he wrote me a most sympathetic letter about this historical relic and promised to speak to the Indian Secretary of State if need be.

"It well becomes the Calcutta *Englishman* to take the lead in promoting a cause which those who think rightly feel to be a sacred one. For years I have known it to plead for kindness to the memories and monuments of the past. Its columns not seldom afforded hospitality to little pleadings and reminders of my own. It may interest Mr. Dunbar to know that the first letter I ever wrote about Calcutta having let Holwell's monument perish, was to the

*Englishman* soon after I had come from another presidency to take up my appointment in the Calcutta Mint. This was so far back as 1869.

"The letter is before me now as I cut it out at the time and pasted it into one of my note books. It is dated 28th August, 1869, and Mr. Dunbar may have the curiosity perhaps to turn it up if the files of the *Englishman* in Calcutta go back so far. It is signed "A Stranger in Calcutta." It is the sowing of the little seed which grew after many many years into the splendid marble obelisk presented to Calcutta by Lord Curzon. From 1869 I never ceased hammering away, in season and out of season, at the reproachful neglect of the Black Hole Martyrs in the very city where they suffered and died. I mention this to show your young society what perseverance in a good cause will do. I bespoke for several years the influence and sympathy of many people in the seats of the mighty, in vain; but at last it was my good fortune to have an opportunity of bringing to the notice of an out-going Viceroy what a reproach Calcutta lay under. This time I appealed to one full of kind generous impulses—a statesman impressed with the sacred duty of the present to the past; and what came of it Lord Curzon's noble work and wise policy stand as a testimony to the Calcutta of to-day. I hope I do not seem to write in any spirit of self-laudation—my share was very small—I was but the suggestor:—Whoever planted and whoever watered—I had nothing to do with the increase."

NOT unoften disputes have arisen as to the correct spelling of names in historical or classical literature. One of these occasions now arises with regard to the spelling of the name of Sir Philip Francis' painstaking brother-in-law and factotum, Dr. Busteed, than whom, perhaps, a more erudite and accurate chronicler of the ages past hardly exists, spells this gentleman's name "Macrabie" throughout his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. Even in a reference to a letter written by an American cousin to Francis, when starting for India, Busteed puts the former as having written: "I charge you not to let Macrabie play the quack with you, etc." Buckland in his *Dictionary of Indian Biography* uses the same spelling, and I think Carey also does so. I find on a perusal of Forrest's *Selection of State Papers Preserved for the Foreign Department, 1772 to 1785*, quite a different spelling of this name. For instance, in one case alone one of the names signed at the bottom of a report from the sheriff, is spelt "Alexander Mackrabi." Again in Merivale and Parke's *Life of Sir Phillip Francis* the name is spelt as in Mr. Forest's compilation but with the "e" at the end. It would be interesting to know which of these three styles is the correct one. Personally I am inclined to trust Mr. Forrest's spelling of "Mackrabi" as correct since the source of official information is to be relied on in most cases.

# Calcutta Historical Society.

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**LIST OF MEMBERS.**

NAME.	ADDRESS.	DATE OF MEMBER- SHIP 1907.
Abbey, W. E. ... ..	7, Council House Street ... ..	27th April.
Abdul Ali, A. F. M. ... ..	Dy. Magistrate and Collector, Dacca ... ..	Do.
Apear, the Hon. A. A. ... ..	11, Russell Street ... ..	23rd May.
Bailey, W. L. ... ..	1, Pretoria Street ... ..	8th June.
Barrow, Oscar, I.C.S., C.I.E. ... ..	16, Elysium Row ... ..	27th April.
Benoy Krishna Deb, C.I.E., Raja ... ..	106/1, Grey Street ... ..	Do.
Betts, C. C. ... ..	Betts & Co, Chandpur, Tipperah District ... ..	1st June.
Billing, Miss S. E. ... ..	86, South Road, Entally ... ..	27th "
Black, J. R. ... ..	5, Fairlie Place ... ..	20th "
Bradshaw, W. J. ... ..	4, Esplanade East ... ..	11th "
Broom, J. T. ... ..	Finlay, Muir & Co. ... ..	27th April.
Burke, W. S. ... ..	1, Hare Street ... ..	Do.
Burrup, A. J. ... ..	Custom House ... ..	Do.
Caspersz, Hon. Justice ... ..	47, Theatre Road ... ..	20th May.
Chowdry, I. C. ... ..	Bishop's College ... ..	27th April.
Christ, O. ... ..	Deutsch Asiatische Bank ... ..	5th June.
Ching, T. B. ... ..	5, Clive Street ... ..	24th "
Coates, C. H. ... ..	25, Mango Lane ... ..	27th April.
Cockell, W. F. ... ..	23, Camac Street ... ..	Do.
Cole, L.L.B., Rev. Canon T.E.F. ... ..	St. John's Church ... ..	Do.
Corfield, Col. C. J. ... ..	United Service Club ... ..	14th May.
Corfield, Wilmot ... ..	25, Mango Lane ... ..	27th April.
Cossimbazar, Maharajah Manindra Chandra Nandy of ... ..	Rajbari, Cossimbazar ... ..	20th June.
Cotton, W. Gordon L. ... ..	3, Rawdon Street ... ..	13th May.
Coxe, Hon. Justice ... ..	United Service Club ... ..	19th "
Cram, P. A. ... ..	Royal Insurance Buildings ... ..	17th "
Crawford, Lt.-Col. D. G., M.B., I.M.S. ... ..	Civil Surgeon, Hughly ... ..	27th "
Cruttenden, F. P. ... ..	South British Insurance Co. ... ..	24th June.
Cumming, J. G., I.C.S. ... ..	Magistrate's House, Alipore ... ..	27th April.
Davenport, John ... ..	101/1, Clive Street ... ..	Do.
DeCosan, A. F. C. ... ..	B. I. Railway House ... ..	16th May.
Dillon, W. ... ..	9, Hare Street ... ..	27th April.
Downing, W. K. ... ..	6, Lyons Range ... ..	18th May.
Downing, J. DeGrey, F.R.S. (Litt.) M.R.A.S. ... ..	2, Camac Street ... ..	27th April.
Duchene, A. E., B.A. ... ..	9, Hare Street ... ..	Do.
Dumayne, F. G. ... ..	Port Commissioners Buildings ... ..	14th May.
Dunbar, Robert ... ..	9, Hare Street ... ..	27th April.
Elles, E. H. ... ..	1, Mission Row ... ..	18th May.
Emmerson, H. L. ... ..	71, Garden Reach ... ..	1st July.
Ewing, F. ... ..	2, Camac Street ... ..	27th April.

## LIST OF MEMBERS—Continued.

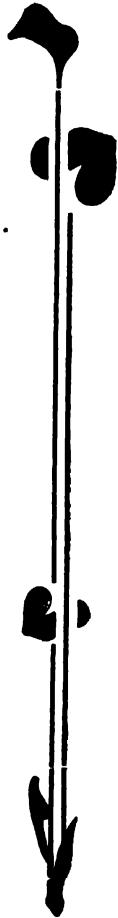
NAME.	ADDRESS.	DATE OF MEMBERSHIP 1907.
Firminger, Rev. W. K. ...	<i>The Vicarage, Kidderpore</i> ...	27th April.
Flemming, Capt. J. G. ...	<i>Civil Surgeon, Suri, Birbhum</i> ...	7th June.
Fletcher, Hon. Justice ...	<i>14, London Street</i> ...	27th April.
Forrest, Mrs. M. L. ...	<i>Magistrate's House, Howrah</i> ...	20th June.
Fox, Evelyn Brooke ...	<i>Dist. Engineer, B. I. Railway, Dinapur</i> ...	27th April.
Goodwin, A. E. ...	<i>6 &amp; 7, Clive Street</i> ...	7th June.
Grey Downing, J. D. ...	<i>2, Camac Street</i> ...	20th "
Grosemann, W. ...	<i>2, Albert Road</i> ...	18th May.
Gupta, Jogendra Nath Das ...	<i>Principal, Hughly College</i> ...	30th "
Gutschke, M. ...	<i>Deutsch Asiatische Bank</i> ...	1st June.
Hadenfeldt, Otto ...	<i>15, Clive Row</i> ...	18th May.
Halliday, F. C. T. ...	<i>2, Kyd Street</i> ...	27th April.
Harrington, Hon. Justice ...	<i>14, London Street</i> ...	Do.
Harrinath De ...	<i>Imperial Library</i> ...	Do.
Haywood, H. M. ...	<i>Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce</i> ...	27th May.
Hills, C. R. ...	<i>J. Thomas &amp; Co., 8, Mission Row</i> ...	11th June.
Holmwood, E. H. ...	<i>4, Esplanade East</i> ...	3rd May.
Holmwood, Hon. Justice H. ...	<i>22, Theatre Road</i> ...	27th April.
Hooper, C. F. ...	<i>Thacker, Spink &amp; Co.</i> ...	18th May.
Hooper, D. ...	<i>Indian Museum</i> ...	27th April.
Hossain, Syud ...	<i>7, Dedar Bux Lane</i> ...	Do.
Huddleston, G., C.I.E. ...	<i>E. I. Railway House...</i> ...	Do.
Hume, W. E. P. ...	<i>Calcutta General Printing Company, 300, Bowbazar Street</i> ...	27th May.
Jackson, H. St. John ...	<i>9, Hare Street</i> ...	27th April.
Jewell, W. R. C. ...	<i>Port Commissioners' Office</i> ...	7th June.
Jones, Major J. Lloyd, I.M.S. ...	<i>United Service Club</i> ...	10th "
Kennedy, Dr. W. ...	<i>36, Chowringhee</i> ...	Do.
King, Daniel ...	<i>Andrew Yule &amp; Co., Calcutta</i> ...	22nd "
Kirkman, J. D. D. ...	<i>3, Wood Street</i> ...	14th "
Kirkpatrick, W....	<i>101, Clive Street</i> ...	20th "
LePatourel, Paul ...	<i>Corporation Buildings</i> ...	10th "
Longley, Phil. C. ...	<i>9, Esplanade East</i> ...	1st May.
Luckman, Archdeacon ...	<i>St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta</i> ...	10th June.
Luke, James ...	<i>98, Clive Street</i> ...	Do.
Macdonald, J. ...	<i>Chartered Bank, 5, Council House Street</i> ...	11th June.
Maclean, The Hon. Sir Francis, K.C.I.E.	<i>14, London Street</i> ...	27th April.
Madge, E. W. ...	<i>Imperial Library</i> ...	Do.
Madge, W. C. ...	<i>1, Mangoe Lane</i> ...	Do.
Mann, Dr. H. H. ...	<i>10, Bootham Crescent, York, England</i> ...	Do.
Martelli, W. G. ...	<i>Martelli &amp; Co., 3, Commercial Buildings</i> ...	7th June.
Martin, Harold P. ...	<i>Messrs. Martin &amp; Co., 6 &amp; 7, Clive Street</i> ...	1st "
Martin, Thomas A., C.A. ...	<i>21, Canning Street</i> ...	10th "
Mehta, B. R., I.C.S. ...	<i>55, Canning Street</i> ...	17th May.
Mehta, R. D., C.I.E. ...	<i>Do.</i> ...	27th April.
Muddiman, A. P. ...	<i>13, Harrington Street</i> ...	19th May.
Mukerjee, Hon. Justice ...	<i>77, Russa Road, North</i> ...	Do.
Mukerjee, P. N. ...	<i>Municipal Office</i> ...	27th April.
Myers, Dudley B. ...	<i>6, Middleton Street</i> ...	27th May.
Newman, Henry ...	<i>9, Hare Street</i> ...	27th April.
Norman, W. H. ...	<i>5/2, Lee Road, Bhownipore</i> ...	10th June.
O'Grady, W. T. ...	<i>29, Theatre Road</i> ...	7th June.
Oldham, C. A. W., I.C.S. ...	<i>Bengal Club</i> ...	10th June.
Owens, A. E. ...	<i>2, Camac Street</i> ...	Do.

## LIST OF MEMBERS—Continued.

NAME.	ADDRESS.	DATE OF MEMBER- SHIP 1907.
Palin, Lieut.-Col. ...	<i>United Service Club</i> ...	7th June.
Palmer, F., C.I.E. ...	<i>Acting Vice-Chairman, Port Commissioners</i> ...	27th May.
Persian Consul, The ...	<i>Calcutta</i> ...	7th June.
Petley, Capt. E.W., R.N., C.I.E., A.D.C. ...	<i>Port Commissioners' Office</i> ...	27th May.
Phelps, W. H. ...	<i>Old Court House Street</i> ...	7th June.
Poynton, A. ...	<i>4, Fairlie Place</i> ...	Do.
Pundit Satya Charan Shastri ...	<i>Dakshinamur, N., Calcutta</i> ...	Do.
Rampini, Hon. Justice R. F. ...	<i>21, Russell Street</i> ...	27th April.
Roy, P. L. ...	<i>24, Ezra Mansions</i> ...	14th June.
Russell, E. W. S. ...	<i>25, Madang Lane</i> ...	27th April.
Rustomjee, R. H. M. ...	<i>20, Hallygunge Circular Road</i> ...	Do.
Ryan, P. F. ...	<i>9, Hare Street</i> ...	Do.
Sassoon, Alfred ...	<i>Sassoon &amp; Co.</i> ...	27th April.
Scallan, F. C. ...	<i>13, Wood Street</i> ...	Do.
Sevenoaks, R. L. ...	<i>Victoria Memorial, Cathedral Avenue</i> ...	27th May.
Shelton, G. Phillip ...	<i>55, Park Street</i> ...	1st June.
Shouldham, T. H. ...	<i>Burn &amp; Co.</i> ...	1st July.
Silk, A. E. ...	<i>2, Hungerford Street</i> ...	20th May.
Simmons, W. J. ...	<i>6, Hastings Street</i> ...	27th April.
Smiles, J. ...	<i>16, Strand Road</i> ...	17th May.
Smith, A. E. ...	<i>53, Chowringhee</i> ...	21st June.
Smith, Lt.-Col. J. R. Dunlop, M.A., C.I.E. ...	<i>Private Secretary to the Viceroy</i> ...	27th May.
Smith, V. Gerard ...	<i>Messrs. David &amp; Co., Narayanganj, E.B. &amp; A.</i> ...	13th June.
Somerville, P. ...	<i>Bengal Police, Alipore</i> ...	14th May.
Stark, Herbert ...	<i>Bhagulpore</i> ...	27th April.
Stephen, Hon. Justice H. L. ...	<i>4, Camac Street</i> ...	20th May.
Stevens, J. A., B.A. ...	<i>Bengal Police, Customs House, Strand</i> ...	27th "
Stockwell, A. P. ...	<i>Remington Typewriter Co., 7, Council House Street</i> ...	6th June.
Sumner, C. R. ...	<i>2, Camac Street</i> ...	27th April.
Sutherland, The Hon. G. H. ...	<i>Bengal Club</i> ...	20th May.
Swan, T. S. ...	<i>102, Clive Street</i> ...	15th "
Tagore, Abanindra Nath ...	<i>6, Dwarka Nath Tagore Lane, Jorasanko</i> ...	24th May.
Tagore, Maharajah Bahadur Sir Jotendro Mohan ...	<i>53, Barrackpore Trunk Road</i> ...	27th April.
Tagore, Maharaj Kumar Sir Prodyot ...	<i>Tagore Castle, Pathurlinghatta, Calcutta</i> ...	Do.
Thomson, James ...	<i>c/o F. W. Heilgers &amp; Co., 130, Canning Street</i> ...	7th June.
Thornton, E., F.R.I.B.A. ...	<i>6 &amp; 7, Clive Street</i> ...	27th April.
Urmason, R. ...	<i>4, Fairlie Place</i> ...	Do.
Watson, N. A. R. ...	<i>121, Kyd Street</i> ...	3rd May.
Watson, Robert J. ...	<i>9, Writers Buildings</i> ...	10th June.
Wheeler, Rev. E. M. ...	<i>Principal, Berkhampton College</i> ...	6th "
Wilkinson, W. J. ...	<i>Uttadanga, Calcutta</i> ...	27th April.
Williams, S. C. ...	<i>E. I. Railway House</i> ...	3rd May.
Wollaston, A. Hyde ...	<i>21, Camac Street</i> ...	27th April.
Wyness, James ...	<i>Eastern &amp; Indian Engineer</i> ...	Do.



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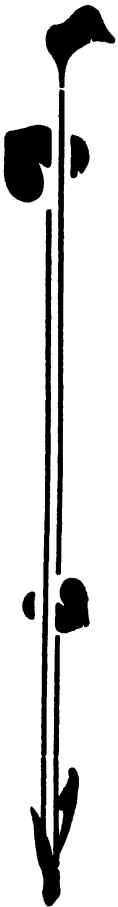
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LORD CLIVE

# A Short History of Old Fort William in Bengal.

## II.

### THE LOSS OF OLD FORT WILLIAM IN BENGLA.

#### *The Beginning of Alarms.*

NE result of the great storm\* was to emphasise the need of warehouses. From a letter written at the end of 1739 we learn that the Council had to store its goods in the Charity School and the hospital while the shattered buildings were put in order. In 1740 they repaired cottah and warehouses. In 1741 the Company being still in want of warehouses, Governor Baddy, with the approval of the Court of Directors, built a very large one against the south end of the fort. It extended from the south-east to the south-west bastion, and projected 100 or 120 feet beyond them, enclosing a large square area.

"By these means the two bastions were rendered of very little use for defending the south end of the fort, for the curtain between them was now become the inner wall of a warehouse and a large passage broke through it into the fort, by way of a door to this new warehouse, the outer or south wall of this warehouse being now in place of the curtain was now not stronger than a common house wall; it was also full of very large windows, and by projecting beyond the bastions, could not be flanked by their guns."

The very next year gave the Governor and Council good reasons to repent of their haste in building these warehouses. In 1742 the Mahrattas began their incursions into Bengal. Early in April tidings came in from many quarters that the invaders were near at hand. Who could say whether the horses of the West would be content to quench their thirst in the waters of the Hughli? At any moment they might cross the river and come riding into the northern parts of the town intent upon plunder. Unused to war's alarms the Council met on April 20 in much trepidation "to take steps for the defence and security of the place," and ordered "that Captain Commandant William Holcombe, Captain John Lloyd and Captain Edward Frederick Reade, gunner, taking with them John Alliffe, surveyor of the works, do go round the town and take a particular and careful survey of the same, giving us their opinion in writing where and in what manner the several

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\* See above. pp. 44-45.



avenues to Calcutta may be defensible in case of the approach of an enemy and to report the same as soon as they possibly can."

On Thursday, April 22, the survey party gave in their report, in which we have sketched out the first general plan for the defence of Calcutta. "We have been round the town," runs the report, "and taken a survey of the avenues and passes into it, which are so numerous, that we apprehend it requires a much superior force properly to defend them than can be raised at present. However, we have remarked the following places of most importance and what may be most necessary to be done at this junction, *viz.*—

"To make a battery at Seat's Garden\* consisting of *six* guns, *four* of which to face the road towards Perrin's and *two* to flank the avenue towards the waterside.†

"A battery of *four* guns a little on this side the octagon.

"A battery of *three* guns at Mr. Jackson's Gaut.

"A battery of three guns opposite to the gaol; all the passes into that road into the town to be stopped up with mud walls and ditches before them, as also a ditch before each battery.

"All the gates into the Black Town to be walled up.

"A battery of *three* guns in the road that comes from Golgaut to be made at the lane that comes down by Captain Jackson's house.

"A battery of *four* guns, *three* of which to face the road by Captain Lloyd's house and *one* to flank the avenue down towards the waterside.

"A battery of *two* guns opposite to Mr. Margass' house near the rice golahs; and all the bye-alleys thereabouts to be stopped up with mud walls. And in case of an alarm we think it necessary that the bridges by Captain Pelaree's and Captain Reade's houses be then broken down."‡

This plan of the seven batteries was an incomplete emergency measure of defence. Only the first of the batteries afforded any protection to the busy native population in the north; the other six bastions, two on the north, two on the east and two on the south with their connected ditches and earth-works, were designed to close up the avenues and alleys leading into the purely European quarter. In default of anything better, the Council sanctioned the execution of these proposals and appointed Captain Robert Lennard from Madras, engineer. On April 27 they stopped the works, while they sent for Mr. Forrestie from Patna; and then again, at the beginning of July, in a fresh ague fit of fear, after a further survey of the town,

\* Seat's=Seth's—in the modern Jora Bagan.

† "The avenue to the waterside"—Nimtole Ghat Street.

‡ The Octagon was at Suttanuti Point. For other places mentioned in this document see Wilson: *Old Fort William*, Vol. I., pp. 188-199, and plan IV. in Vol. II. The archaic English of the original has been modified here by Dr. Wilson.

renewed and finished them. The *Tigris* was moored with strong chains off Perrin's point to keep guard over the river.

Theodore Forrestie, an Italian master of fortification, arrived from Patna at the beginning of August.\* More than one member of Council when discussing the plan of the seven batteries had condemned it as too ambitious. John Hilsey was of opinion that it would be "impossible to defend so large an extent ;" William Davis approved of "a narrower compass ;" John Forster thought "the securing of a narrower compass the most eligible." But the plans put forward by Mr. Forrestie, in November, 1742, were of a still more ambitious character. He proposed to turn the European half of Calcutta into a large fortification of the Vauban pattern. The parapet, fosse, covered way and glacis, with an esplanade a hundred yards wide, were to extend to the northern battery and the river right through the very heart of the quarter inhabited by the richest native merchants, most of whose houses were to be demolished. Had Forrestie's plan been carried out, Calcutta might have been saved the sanitary difficulties which now afflict her owing to the overcrowding of her great bazar ; but there had just arrived in the settlement, on his way to Madras, Major Charles Knipe, whom the Council had been ordered to consult in the matter of fortification. The Court of Directors declared that there were three points to be observed ; not to give offence to the nabob's government, not to spend too much money, to remember that further defences were not required for the security of the Company's estate—Fort William and the Marine were sufficient for that—but for the encouragement and protection of native merchants. So Major Knipe went over the ground with Mr. Forrestie and showed him that his plan would never do ; it would greatly disturb the permanent residents and attract the notice of the nabob's government, it would be difficult and expensive in execution, and it would not afford any protection to native merchants and weavers ; and then went over the ground again with Mr. Forrestie and explained his own scheme. He was of opinion that "a wall of about four feet thick, defended with proper towers that should flank each other with about ten cannon mounted in each, would be of strength sufficient in this country against any enemy that did not set down to a regular siege and might be carried on to encompass the whole town at less than half the expense, exclusive of the purchases to be made of the other ; and by making the bricks twelve or sixteen inches square, would exceedingly hasten the building, lessen the quantity of lime to be used in work, and render the wall much stronger and more durable than if faced with common brick."

---

\* The name is spelt Forrestie in the records and by Dr. Wilson in this article. In the notes to the records in *Old Fort William*, Dr. Wilson writes Forresti, and Major Knipe (*Old Fort William*, Vol. I., p. 172) describes him as an "Engineer retained in the service."

The cost of Major Knipe's scheme was calculated in three sizes ; large, about four and a half lacs of rupees ; middling or small, about two and a half lacs. The Council, anxious to satisfy all the parties, in November, 1742, gratified and discharged Robert Lennard from being engineer, and in his stead, in January, 1743, entertained and gratified Mr. Forrestie ; and sent home Knipe's plans, as well as Forrestie's, for the consideration of the Court of Directors.

In March, 1743, the fears of the inhabitants became too urgent for further delay. They proposed at their own expense " to dig a ditch forty-two yards wide from the battery of the prison round the Company's bounds as far as the chowkies beyond Perrin's gardens and that each inhabitant's proportion towards the same should be rated by the Collector " and the Council agreed to the proposal and advanced twenty-five thousand rupees to carry it out.\*

The verdict of the Court of Directors upon the merits of the rival schemes of defence was soon returned. They altogether ignored Major Knipe's suggestions. They ordered Mr. Forrestie to be discharged. He might be an ingenious, skilful engineer, but there was no occasion for him ; such persons generally had expensive schemes in their heads. As the province was liable to the Mahratta incursions such additions should be made to the fortifications as those on the spot might deem requisite at the least possible expense. From this point of view the Court of Directors entirely approved of the necessary precautions taken on the Mahratta invasions to prevent a surprise, by surveying the town, putting the batteries in good order, raising a militia, laying in a stock of grain, hiring lascars for the gun-room, lending the black merchants a sum of money to dig a ditch round the town at their own expense ; and hoped that when the danger was over their charges were duly lessened by discharging the people hired upon the emergency.

#### *The Artillery Company. The Directors' Scheme.*

The Directors still enjoyed that calm faith in the security of Calcutta which had formerly prevailed in the minds of its inhabitants, even after hostilities had broken out with France, even after Madras had been taken. " We are surprised," they wrote in July, 1747, " to hear that the success of the French at Madras should fill you with terrors even while the men of war lay in Bengal river, for which reason, having a confidence in the resolution and activity of Mr. John Jackson, we appoint him next in Council to Mr. Forster and to succeed him when he resigns the Government, and we hope that all our governors who have not resolution to defend our settlements, as we think was the case in Madras, will resign to such who have. We hope and

---

\* Come dates the digging of the Maharatta Ditch 1742. The Council sanctioned it on March 31, 1743. *Old Fort William*, Vol. I., 174.

expect that you will abhor the very thought of giving up the settlement, and the more monstrous one of a ransom afterwards."

Next year an Artillery Company was established for the protection of the English Settlements; Captain Alexander Delavaux was appointed Chief Engineer and Major James Mossman was placed in charge of the defences of Calcutta. "It is plain," said the Directors, "from the apprehensions you were under on the loss of Madras, lest the French should destroy you next, that you neither thought your own strength, though supported at that time by six of His Majesty's ships, nor the neutrality of the country a sufficient security, and you at all times stand so much in awe of the country Government that they easily and shamefully raise immense contributions upon you at the Company's expense though almost always under pretext of abuses in carrying on private trade." For these reasons it was necessary to make new arrangements in the Military and to set their fortifications in order. "We are, therefore, desirous to have such necessary works set about in the most expeditious and frugal manner that can be conveniently done, but as we have no plan of Calcutta whereby we can form a true judgment of the extent or nature of the fortification requisite for this purpose, we must rely on your prudence in conjunction with that of Major Mossman, to act therein in the manner you two may judge will best answer our intentions, taking the advice of those about you who are the most skilled in works of that nature and whose sincerity can be best relied upon.

"From the best information we have been able to get, if two small forts in the nature of field forts be erected, one at the most convenient places near each extremity of the Company's bounds near the riverside; and that those forts, especially the lower one, be so disposed as to cover a battery of large guns to prevent ships coming before the factory, and if from these two new forts a line be drawn round the Company's bounds or round so much of them as may be thought necessary, flanking in the nature of a covered way with places of arms and defended by a broad ditch and substantial ramparts of earth, we think such works may fully answer our intention.

"In setting about such works the only things to be considered are, how far you may be embarrassed with the country Government and what the expenses of the works may amount to. Having come to a resolution with Major Mossman on the fortifications proposed or such others as may be judged will best answer our intentions, you are to make an estimate of the expense taking care to do it as exactly as you can, and that everything be done in the most frugal and complete manner, and before you begin to carry them into execution, you are to try to ease the Company of the burden as much as can be done with prudence by endeavouring to persuade the principal merchants and other inhabitants to contribute generously thereto as

the merchants and inhabitants of other places have heretofore done. So soon as you have settled the plan for the whole fortification, you are to prevent any persons possessed of grounds necessary to be kept clear for carrying it into execution from building or planting thereon or mangling them by any other means so as to impede the works or make them more expensive than they would be otherwise. These precautions ought to be taken before it be known what uses those grounds are for, or as the ditch proposed will be an excellent drain to the whole place, and will far exceed any other that can be made, it may be pretended that is the use they are to be put to; but you must proceed no further on this plan than to erect the lower fort on the north side of the creek near by Govindapur, which we think will effectually command Tannah Reach and battery until you hear further from us, taking care that the works are so situated as not to be in danger of being undermined by the tide or freshet."

At Calcutta the Council by no means shared in the confidence felt by the Directors; they knew that the walls of Fort William were worthless in a military sense and suspected that the seven batteries placed round the settlement were little better. Of late sporadic efforts have been made to patch up the fort. In July, 1742, Captain Commandant William Holcombe, who had been ordered to survey the fort, pointed out that its numerous irregularities would take time to put to rights, and it was ordered that "a parapet should be built round the fort wall and likewise on the new godowns, and swivel guns fixed on the parapet at proper distances." But these orders could not have been carried out, for they were renewed in March, 1743, and for three years nothing was done.

#### *Fort William in Fear and Perplexity.*

In 1747, John Forster having become Governor, renewed attention was directed to the strengthening of the fort. At the instance of Commodore Griffin the Council determined to adopt a new method of strengthening the fortifications devised by him in concert with Surveyor, Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted, whom they "entertained engineer as Mr. Forrestie formerly was," and ordered to prepare a plan for making the fort more defensible with the calculation of the expense. In a week Plaisted was ready and reported as follows:—"Fort William as it now stands is both an irregular and weak place, which is what the Company has already said of it, and on the condition it is now will scarcely require an assault to take it. 'Tis therefore in this plan I endeavour at the least expenses to rectify the whole.

"First, the bastions are so small as scarcely to deserve that name, and to knock them down and enlarge them would cost fifty thousand rupees, and could not be executed under two years. I therefore propose to make

them serve as *cavaleurs* to the new work intended, which will be a mud bastion without them, the outside face to be at least forty feet from the preserved bastion, of which *twelve* for the parapet, the rest for the terreplain of the guns. This work will be lower than the old as per profile laid down with the plan, and as brickwork is very expensive, considering the price of chunam and bricks, and also very tedious, considering the scarcity of them and bricklayers, I propose to face it with turf as is customary in many parts of the world. This is to be digged up in pieces eighteen inches, and laid in the nature of bricks, three feet or more thick, and, if well done, will have its advantages above brickwork. But I am sensible it may want a little repairing every year after the rains; but that, I imagine, will be but trifling expense, considering the number of coolies the Company has in constant pay, and will be abundantly made up by that expense of brickwork saved. And one thing on this head I beg the liberty to observe that if your Honour and Council should approve this plan, we shall hereafter be as able to face it with brickwork as well; and this small expense now laid out will be no way lost.

"Secondly, a ditch I think absolutely necessary to prevent an assault, agreeable to what is laid down in the draft. This in consequence of our wanting earth for our new work will very little increase the expense excepting the overplus of earth which can form a glacis immediately on the counterscarp without any covert way. By your Honour and Council's orders I have excluded the new godowns and propose for their defence to raise two demi-bastions laid down in the draft in the nature of a horn work, that by the waterside is not so properly a demi-bastion, as it has a small flank on the riverside, which I can no way enlarge as the foundation will reach as far as low water mark. The ditch is also carried without this work."

The Calcutta Council submitted the proposal for criticism to their other military officers, and nearly lost themselves in the confusion of diverse opinion. Amidst many differences the authorities agreed "that the fort was so much surrounded with buildings that the enemy could make their approach near under that cover," and that there could be no proper fortifications till these buildings were removed. As the garrison was too small to man any additional works, they deprecated the making of the proposed ditch. It would "too much invade other people's properties," and the great rains would make all such works useless. But the place must be made bomb-proof and the river wall raised. So Plaisted's proposal with the accompanying plan was sent off to London for consideration and various orders were passed, that a store of grain should be laid up, a reservoir constructed for water, that the barracks should be made bomb-proof, and the new godowns protected with a fascine battery.

*Hamilton's Palisades.*

In September, 1747, Captain Commandant Hamilton proposed to strengthen the place with palisades, closing up every "avenue and connecting the seven batteries.\* If the town should be attack by land," he said, "as it lies entirely open on all quarters, in order to defend the same and dispute the ground inch by inch with the enemy, the following work is necessary.

"In the first place all the little alleys and streets ought to be treble palisaded, with strong palisades, and, where it is thought necessary, they may have doors to them for passing through in day time ; and there must be ditches on the outside and ground raised breast high on the inside. All the large avenues from the river within, and also the landing places, must be strongly barricaded with palisades and doors to them only in some places and the palisades ought to be more open in order to fire cannon through them as also a large quantity of gunny bags must be got ready to make batteries for cannon when wanted.

"Likewise a large quantity grenadoes, and, in default of such a quantity as is necessary, glass bottles will do better for fumalls (*sic*) where it is visible the enemy designs to attack.

"All the small cannon in the place ought to be mounted on field carriages ; and all those who have houses and compounds bordering upon the avenues to the town, where the enemy may reasonably be thought able to approach, shall be ordered to raise a footbank of earth behind their walls so high that a man with ease may fire over them into the street ; and the like conduct ought to be observed in houses.

"Englishmen ought to have the outguards of all principal and particular places ; and the aforesaid avenues and places before mentioned to be guarded by berkenders.

"But if it be replied that we cannot maintain so many posts at once, I answer neither can the enemy attack so many posts at once, and one man within is worth four men without.

"Likewise the line of cannon next the riverside within the embrasures there ought to be gabions placed of six feet high filled with earth between the cannon."

The scheme of joining the seven batteries with palisades was certainly carried out, and the earliest plan of Calcutta preserved in the British Museum shows the European quarter within a ring fence. At the foot of each of the principal streets opening on the river is a gated landingplace. Palisades run along the river face down to the battery of two guns to the south-west, and

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\* Archdeacon Hyde in his *Parish of Bengal* would have dated the palisades as early as 1740: but Dr. Wilson has since shown that they date from 1747, and were erected in opposition to the expert opinion of Plaisted and Fenwick. See *Indian Church Review*, Vol. XIV., p. 74 *et seq.*

thence turn landwards by the creek along the line of the modern Hastings Street, past three gated bridges, and the burying ground, now St. John's Churchyard. At the third bridge the palisades doubled back by Fancy Lane for a short way and thence across Wellesley Place and up Larkin's Lane into British Indian Street. At Barretto's Lane the palisades turned straight northwards keeping at a pretty even distance within the Chitpur Road. The bailey, as Mr. Hyde calls it, opened from Barretto's Lane, through a bit of Mango Lane into Mission Row, at that time the ropewalk. It was carried up Lal Bazar to the battery by the cutcherry. Thence the bailey continued through Radha Bazar and down Ezra Street and Amratollah. Near where the Greek Church now stands it twisted its way by the zigzags of Human Gullee to the road past the Portuguese Church, and so out to meet the line at Armenian Street by which it passed round the Armenian Churchyard. A few more turns brought the bailey to the river and the north-west battery just below the Great Bazar Ghat, where Cross Street opens into Clive Street.

The batteries and parapets round Fort William, the Mahratta Ditch, and the palisades were makeshift arrangements, which did not impose upon the intelligent observers. In a letter, written about 1748, Captain Fenwick describes a conversation which he had with Governor Forster on the subject of the fortifications.

" One fine moonlight night when the company broke up, he called me to him, and after we were seated in the balcony, over the wharf battery, asked my opinion about the defence of the place. I answered that as he was pleased to require it, it was my duty plainly to tell him, what I had concealed hitherto, that I had a very indifferent one of it, and more so from the constructions of the gabions below, pointing to them for a number were in hand, and several finished made so pliant that I could crush them flat, and were with a large bellied bottom and small at top in the form of a pear, or rather like an onion basket. He took no notice of my reflections on them ; but next morning I saw they were all moved off, and others set about with thick split bamboos, and were cylindrical open at both ends, as they ought to be. It is true Hamilton was a man of true courage of the best sort, for he was circumspect and cool in action with great bravery, but I think not otherwise calculated for the defence of a place. The Governor told me of barricades and palisades he intended ; I answered there would be so many inlets, when we thought all secured, that we should find ourselves deceived ; and if those works were carried round no further than half musket shot from the fort, most of whose guns would be silenced by the near buildings, we could not man and support them. I found by some of his talk, he depended upon what defence the fort could make, and that some dispositions had been settled to that end. Upon which I told him, though I was no engineer, yet these suspicious times had put me



upon looking into some of the best authors on fortification ; but a man who had not, might with very little attention, discover our fort could not be defended, and no enemy who knew its weakness would receive it but at discretion. Therefore I gave it as my opinion the best prospect was to give the militia the guard of the fort, and form four detachments of the military, which would be one hundred and sixty in each with two field pieces."

Barwell, who succeeded Forster as Governor in 1748, had still more doubts as to the security of Calcutta. He consulted with Admiral Boscawen, who warned him that the fort would not be capable of making any long resistance, and that the neutrality of the nabob could not always be counted on. But still nothing was done till 1749, when Major Mossman, the newly appointed engineer from home, began to make preparations for carrying out the views of the Directors.

The old batteries excited nothing but derision in the minds of the newcomers. Witherington, who was ordered to withdraw the south-west battery by the riverside, speaks of it with the greatest contempt. "No one owned the edifying of it, but by way of derision it was called 'the green goose battery.' When I began to draw off the cannon, the carriages were so sick they could not bear it ; so I was obliged to bring them on truck carriages. Few in garrison were much better, and many of the guns of the garrison were rusted, and honeycombed for want of proper care."

But Mossman did not live to carry on any plan of the fortification for Calcutta. On April 30, 1749, he died, and was succeeded by Captain Hamilton who had proposed the palisades.

On May 24, Hamilton too died ; and the fortifications again passed into the charge of Bartholomew Plaisted, who was allowed to do no more than repair the palisades in 1750, when the Council feared an attack from the nabob.\*

At the end of the year 1749 the Court of Directors appointed Benjamin Robins engineer general and commander-in-chief of the artillery. He was

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\* Writing later, Dr Wilson says :—"In my previous article I stated that in 1750 the fortification passed into Plaisted's charge, but this is evidently incorrect, for I find that in September, 1749, he wrote to Adam Dawson requesting permission to go to Europe. On reaching England he applied to the Court of Directors for redress for the injurious treatment he had received from the Governor and Council at Fort William. The Directors made a strict enquiry into his case, and found 'that he was turned out of his post of Surveyor for his honest endeavours to prevent the abuses in the buxeyship by Messrs. Bellamy and Kempe, and for no other reasons.' 'We should have been glad,' they say, 'to have provided for him in the Engineering way, but we can fix on no appointment of that sort without interfering with Mr. Robins, whose measures and designs we are determined upon no consideration to break in upon. However, we have recommended him to Mr. Robins to be employed under him, in such manner as he shall think proper, if he thinks him fitly qualified.' (Court to Bengal, January 8, 1752) But before these orders reached Calcutta, Mr. Robins was dead, and Plaisted stepped into his vacant

instructed to carefully examine the fortifications and draw up a scheme of additions and reparations. In forming his plans he was "to endeavour that it might be of such a nature that without any material change in the general disposition and without demolishing the works that would first be raised the whole might afterwards be wrought to a more complete fortress." He was to prepare large scale drawings and models of what he designed and to correspond frequently with the Directors. He was expected to remain in India till the beginning of the year 1754, and no new military buildings were to be erected without referring to him. Bartholomew Plaisted, formerly engineer and surveyor at Calcutta, who had been "injuriously turned out" by the Governor and Council, was re-appointed surveyor.

The official plan, put forward by the Directors when they first established their artillery company and adopted by Robins on coming to Calcutta, was to erect a small redoubt at Perrin's, and a much larger citadel at Surman's; while the Mahratta ditch, which already extended some four or five miles, was to be carried on another mile to the river, so as to connect the north and south defences. In a note drawn up by Orme in June, 1751, it is pointed out that "this ditch and rampart are no wise answerable to their intent of defending the bounds; yet had they been finished quite down to the river as they are to the northward with openings at the great roads which lead into the town, it most certainly would have proved an excellent means of levying with great exactness the customs on all the inland importations." "Mr. Robins told me," says Orme, "when he returned from Bengal that he intended to carry on this ditch into the moat of the citadel he designed to build, a little above Salmon's garden; and by deepening it proposed to make it defensible till the principal inhabitants with their most valuable effects could retire into this new fort. So that whether or no the engineer, who may succeed Mr. Robins, pitches upon the same place, it is evident that with an eye only to the security of the colony this ditch ought to be carried on down to the river; and, when the advantage and ease that it will afford to all the imposts on goods brought out of the country is likewise considered, I think there cannot be the least hesitation about executing it immediately."

This was more easy to say than do. As with former engineers, so with Robins; in 1752 death put an end to his efforts. Bartholomew Plaisted remained in charge of the fortification till 1753, when Lieutenant-Colonel Caroline Frederic Scott, appointed chief engineer by the Directors, arrived in India, with the primary object of making Bengal secure. A secret committee of defence was formed consisting of the engineer with the first and second of the Council.

Scott reached Calcutta in September, 1753, and by the end of the year prepared a scheme of defence on the lines already laid down by Mossman and

Robins. But he considered "the present situation of Fort William was to be preferred to any other either down the stream towards Govindpur or up the river towards Perrin's." A project was therefore drawn up for fortifying Fort William, which resembled very closely that proposed by Mr. Forrestie twelve years previously. The old Fort was to be converted into a citadel of the Vauban type, of pentagon, enclosing four or five times the original area. The ditch and earthworks were to begin at the north end of the fort, sweep across the church into the middle of park, and out of it across the hospital back to the river by the creek. These were the four landward sides of the pentagon, and to make them the hospital, the church and the north end of the fort had to be demolished. The fifth and the longest side was formed by the river itself. A carefully drawn plan by Lieutenant William Wells was sent with the project to the Court of Directors, who in 1754 sanctioned its execution. The Court also approved of a temporary project for securing the Settlement from attacks by country forces, which Scott had proposed to the Government of Calcutta in 1754.

But neither the great project nor the little project came to anything. In March Scott was summoned to Madras, where he soon afterwards died. The only substantial addition to the defence of Calcutta due to him was the redoubt at Perrin's point, which he designed and left to Wells to build. Wells also died in August, 1755; and the redoubt was completed by Bartholomew Plaisted. The Council were aghast at this general mortality of their engineers, observing "that it had hitherto been very unfortunate to the Settlement that every gentleman who had the capacity or had been appointed to fortify the place had not lived even to make a beginning of the plan proposed. We have, therefore, concluded to agree to wait for our masters' last commands by this year's shipping."

But the local engineers were by no means willing to wait. Jasper Jones, the captain of the artillery, who thought he should have succeeded Scott as chief engineer, urged upon the Council the necessity of doing something. Early in August, 1755, he wrote suggesting "the erection of a fascine battery as near the bounds or within them, towards Mr. Holwell's gardens as we shall find most convenient. This may annoy the enemy. Another, or two, at the most convenient places within two-thirds distance of the town, and made to bear down the reach, so that the enemy may meet with three oppositions. None of those batteries to be mounted with less than six or eight eighteen-pounders, besides four field pieces of three-pounders to defend each of them, with a small ditch parapet or rampart in their rear, provided they should be attacked by any small party of the enemy that may have landed for that purpose." He also begged the Council to repair the line wall by the riverside and put the guns in order and recommended the employment of

fire-ships in the river. But the Council, after considering Jones' letter, were of opinion that it was irregular, "improper and unnecessary" "Order had been issued to his superior officer to whom he should have applied if he had anything material to offer."

In October, 1755, Captain Commandant George Minchin, who had been ordered to survey the fort, reported that the interior line of the parapet facing the water was "entirely out of repair as likewise the embrasures." He recommended that the parapet should be made "eight foot thick, the outside walls three foot, the checks of the embrasures and the interior line one foot and a half, the centre to be filled with earth well rammed in and terraced at top to prevent the rain from swelling the earth and bursting the lining.

"I also recommend to your consideration erecting another battery in the same manner at the back of the Company's house, and a third on that piece of ground lately purchased for the Honorable Company from Mr. Pearke's house to the corner of the ditch by Mr. Holwell's.

"I beg leave to mention the usefulness of a saluting battery, the same as in the Tower of London, which would be a means of preserving a number of carriages which otherwise are continually exposed to the sun and rain. I also beg leave to acquaint your Honour, etc., that the entrances into the north-west and south-west bastions which are both bomb-proof for powder magazines are at the outside of the fort. Therefore I humbly submit to your Honour, etc., whether it would not be better to have them altered.

"The abovementioned batteries proposed do not (as I have been informed) interfere with the plan sent home by Colonel Scott to the Honorable Company, and will, I apprehend, prevent any attack from water to injure the present fortifications, as no ship with any prospect of security or success can lie before them and they are at present as capable of defence as the day they were finished."

In November, 1755, Colin Simson, whom the Council had appointed to succeed Plaisted as engineer and surveyor, arrived from Dacca. By February, 1756, he had prepared plans of his own and put a memorandum adversely criticising his predecessors. Scott's fort when finished would only be a narrow slip on the side of the river and many valuable buildings would be destroyed to build it. To save them Simson proposed to erect a square fort running round the church through the pond towards the stables, and thence down to the waterside between Mr. Ainiot's house and the Company's.

#### *The Fall of Fort William.*

While the authorities in Calcutta were thus procrastinating and delaying letters came from England informing them that war with France was inevitable and ordering them to put the settlement in a state of defence.

Twenty years of discussion had led to no substantial improvement in the old fort. It still had no proper ditch to protect it on the land side. Its four brick bastions could mount no more than ten guns each, nine and twelve pounders. The east curtain had six or eight windows through it. "Three strong upper room brick houses, and the church, all inclosed with a brick wall, stood within pistol shot of the fort. These were Mr. Cruttenden's, at the north end; the Company's house, at the south end; about the middle of the east curtain stood the church, and Mr. Eyre's house close to the north-east bastion. These houses filled with musketry rendered it impossible to keep upon the bastions." The south defences of the fort were made useless by the warehouse which Governor Braddyll had put up in 1741. "It is true there was a terrace and parapet with embrasures upon this warehouse, but the terrace would only bear a two-pounder, and the parapet was only three feet high. How easy then was it for guns and musketry from all the houses, and the space from the town hall to the burying ground, that is, from east to south, to drive men from this terrace. And there was nothing after this to prevent them from scaling the warehouse wall, which was equal in height to the curtain, and joined both to it and the bastions."

There was no time to build a new fort; all that could be done was to repair the line of guns on the river face. The military storekeeper had orders to prepare and make fit for use gun carriages, a sufficient number of oxen were also procured to work night and day in making of gunpowder.

The blow, however, came not from the French, but from the Government at Murshidabad. On the 9th April the old nabob died and was succeeded by his grandson. This young prince, an old man's spoilt darling, had taken a violent dislike to the English merchants, whom he longed to plunder. Pretexts for quarrelling with them were soon found. They had not congratulated him on his accession, they had given shelter to a man whom he tried to rob, they were raising fortifications without his permission. When ordered to desist they had sent irritating explanations. He had with him a large army, 50,000 men, with which he determined to drive the English out of Bengal. On 4th July he took the factory at Kasimbazar. On the 9th he began his march upon Calcutta. Elated with his first successes he hoped to take the place before the beginning of the rains and moved on so quickly that many of his men died of sunstroke. Calcutta, protected on the west and south by the river, and on the east by a lake, could only be approached from the north. The nabob keeping at first to the left bank of the river reached Hughli by forced marches on the 13th of July. Thence he crossed to the right bank, and arrived before Perrin's redoubt on the 16th, which he found strongly held. He therefore pushed on, entered the city on the 17th from the north-east, seized the great bazar and burnt it.

The preparations of the English to defend Calcutta were inadequate and mistaken. Though their land forces were small in number, they commanded the river and might therefore have prevented the nabob from crossing or assailed him on the march. The engineers proposed that at least the fort should be made tenable by levelling the adjacent buildings, carrying a ditch round it and erecting fascine batteries, but the owners of the house raised difficulties about compensation and the Council considered that "it would be running the Company into needless expense as well as spoiling the town." Besides it was said that they had neither the time nor the powder. So these deliberate fools agreed to throw away their advantages and hold the city with a few weak widely extended breast-works.

Three principal batteries were constructed with *chevaux de frises*, each mounting two eighteen-pounders and two field-pieces. Of these one was placed at two hundred yards to the north of the fort on the bank of the river between the saltpetre godown and Mr. Griffith's house. Here "Messrs. Simson and O'Hara with a great number of coolies were employed in throwing up a breast-work, seven foot high and six wide with a ditch twelve foot deep." A second battery to the south stood at the edge of the creek; and the third, which defended the avenue to the salt lake, was at the north-east corner of the park by the Court House at three hundred yards from the gate of the fort. Crow's feet were supplied to strew on the main road, where, it was judged, the attack would be made. Ditches were dug and breast-works thrown up to obstruct the narrow passages. A trench was begun in the park and a ravelin in front of the fort gate.

At the approach of the enemy on the 16th the native inhabitants fled, the soldiers and volunteers were called to their posts, and the European women took shelter in the fort, where they busied themselves making cannon cartridges. On Thursday, the 17th June, the English burnt the bazar to the east and south of the fort. The next morning the enemy fell upon the outpost, and at 9 o'clock advanced along the avenue against the eastern battery.

This post was held by some artillery under Captain Clayton and a party of volunteers led by Hclwell. Behind them to the left stood the Court House. In front to the right was the theatre and the jail. A barricaded work further on in the avenue served as an advanced post, and the entrance into the ropewalk, which skirted the north side of the green or park, was palisaded and guarded by a sergeant and twenty men. The enemy, having failed to carry the advanced post directly, withdrew into the thickets on each side of the road and opened a running fire. At about 11 o'clock the English fell back on the jail, a fatal position commanded by three houses which stood along the ropewalk. In a few minutes the fire from the

overlooking windows and terraces had killed six and wounded four or five. The rest hastily withdrew to the battery, leaving their field-pieces behind.

At noon the attack ceased ; only to be renewed at two with increased fury, the battery being assailed from both sides of the avenue. So galling was the fire of the enemy that all but those required to man the battery took refuge in the Court House. At 4 o'clock the palisade which closed the upper end of the ropewalk was forced. At five Holwell was sent to report that unless immediately reinforced the post could not be held, but before he could return Clayton had prepared to leave, having already spiked the two eighteen-pounders and one of the field-pieces.

The other posts had not yielded. The northern proved impregnable and was soon left alone. The southern could not be turned till the eastern battery fell. Then the enemy crossed the park and began an attack from behind. A house held by a party of volunteers was surrounded and two of the young men cut off. All the detachments were now recalled and boats were sent to take away the guard at Perrin's redoubt.

In the fort all was uproar and confusion. The Indian troops had deserted. The Portuguese and the Armenians were paralysed with fear, the English worn out and starving. An attempt was made to strengthen the slender ramparts with cotton bales and sand bags ; but there were no labourers to carry them. Small parties were detached to occupy the church and the buildings to the north and south of the fort. And all the while the enemy kept up a ceaseless fire on the eastern face. The spiked guns had been drilled, and were now turned against the fort.

As night approached the European women embarked on board the *Dodalay*. With them went two members of the Council, Maningham and Frankland, *having tendered themselves for the duty*.

Before eight the Company's house to the south had to be abandoned, and the weakest side of the fort was thus exposed to attack. At midnight a party of the enemy advanced to escalate the warehouses. As they approached the wall a rolling of drums was heard in the fort. Governor Drake had heard the noise of their approach and had ordered the alarm to be beaten. Not a man answered the summons, but the enemy, supposing that the English were prepared, lost courage and retired.

From two to four in the morning a Council of War was held and decided nothing.

The next morning the attack was resumed. A disorderly attempt was made to embark the Portuguese women and children, in which many of them were drowned. The men on board the *Dodalay* ordered the ship to be removed to Govindpore, and the other vessels casting off their moorings dropped down with the tide to a safe distance.

On this, Governor Drake lost his head, jumped into a boat, and rowed off to the ship. Captain Minchin, the Commander of the garrison, and several others followed, leaving behind one hundred and ninety of their fellow countrymen, at the head of whom was the great Collector of Calcutta, John Zephaniah Holwell. Signals of recall were thrown out, but Young, the skulking Captain of the *Dodalay*, refused to make any attempt at relief. The *Prince George*, the only ship left higher up the river, went aground.

With all hope of relief cut off the garrison held out gallantly till 4 o'clock on Sunday afternoon, when a parley took place, during which the besiegers swarmed over the warehouses into the fort and forced the west gate. They abstained from bloodshed and contented themselves with depriving the English of their clothes and valuables. Holwell surrendered his sword to the nabob, who was carried round the north side of the fort in a litter and entered by the little water gate. He had effected his purpose. The hot dry weather still continued unbroken; the rains had not yet begun; Calcutta was taken.

The nabob at once began to look for the English treasure, which he supposed would be a great sum of money, and held a sort of court on the parade ground sitting up in his litter. He saw Holwell three times, and dismissed him at 7 o'clock with assurances of safety. Orders were given to secure the prisoners for the night. For this purpose the guards shut them up in the military prison of the fort. Thus was committed one of the great crimes of history.

On either side of the east gate of the fort there extended a double row of arches parallel to the east curtain wall. The first row of arches served to contain the range of rooms built against the wall; the second row of arches formed a verandah or piazza, west of the rooms. The Black Hole tragedy occurred in the rooms to the south of gate which were formed by dividing off the space between the curtain wall and the first row of arches by a number of cross walls. Each of these arches measured 8 feet 9 inches. The first four arches formed the court-of-guard and were left open to the piazza before them. The next nine arches formed three rooms, communicating with each other, used for the soldiers' barracks. They were separated from the piazza before them by a small dwarf wall, or parapet wall built between the arches. The fourteenth and fifteenth arches were completely walled in and used as the Black Hole or military prison. This room was the most southern of the series. Its east was the curtain wall, on its south side was a blank cross wall built between the curtain and the south pier of the fifteenth arch. Its north side was a similar wall having a door opening inwards, giving entrance to the prison from the barracks. Its west side was formed by the two bricked up arches, with a window left in the centre of each. Along the east wall of the barracks and the Black Hole was a wooden platform, about six



feet broad and raised three or four feet from the ground, and open underneath. South of the Black Hole there were no more rooms, the remaining space being taken up by a straight staircase, fifty feet long, built against the east curtain wall, leading to the south-east bastion. The verandah or piazza, which ran all along west of the rooms, was low and clumsy, but it protected them from the sun and the rain. Its arches were wider than those which formed the west side of the rooms and measured 11 feet 3 inches.

As soon as it was dark the guards ordered their captives to collect themselves into one body and sit down quietly under the arched verandah or piazza to the west of the Black Hole prison and the barracks to the left of the court-of-guard and just over against the windows of the Governor's easterly apartments. Besides the guard over them, another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of this verandah, leading up to the south-east bastion to prevent any escape that way. Four or five hundred gun men with lighted matches were also drawn up on the parade ground, where two 24-pounders stood. To the right and to the left the fort was in flames. The guards moved hither and thither with lighted torches, and it was suspected that they intended to suffocate the prisoners with smoke. Meanwhile, Leech, the Company's smith, who had made his escape, had returned to tell Holwell that he had a boat ready and could show him a secret way out of the fort. But Holwell refused to desert his companions, and so Leech determined to stay with him.

The guards now returned from their examination of the rooms round the fort. They ordered the English to rise up and go into the barracks to the left of the court-of-guard. The English went in most readily, and were congratulating themselves on the prospect of a comfortable night on the platform which ran along the east wall. They little dreamt what was in store for them. No sooner were they within the barracks, than the guards advanced to the inner arches, and the dwarf wall, and, with their muskets presented, ordered the wretched captives to go into the room at the south end of the barracks, known as the Black Hole prison, while other soldiers from the court-of-guard with clubs and drawn scimitars pressed upon those next to them. The stroke was so sudden and so unexpected, and the throng and pressure towards the door of the prison so great, that there was no resisting it. Like one agitated wave impelling another, those next to the door were obliged to give way and enter. The rest followed like a torrent, few of them having the least idea of the size of a place which they had never seen. The door was instantly closed and barred, and a hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, were thus crammed together into a room scarcely fit to hold a single human being on an Indian sultry night.



J. Z. HOWELL •  
(LITHO. & ENGRAVED AT GOVERNMENT PRESS, CALCUTTA.)



"Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who even in that extremity retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was that nothing could be done without the nabob's orders, and that the nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody awoke him. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The nabob permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors by piling upon each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers could not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously and covered up."

It is certain that the nabob had nothing to do with the measures adopted for securing the English prisoners. He was probably not in the fort at the time they were driven into the Black Hole. But he showed no concern at their sufferings he inflicted no punishment on their murderers. Most of the survivors were allowed to go their way to the ships. But four of them were handed over to an officer, who fed them with the rice and water of affliction, and sent them heavily ironed to Murshidabad in an open leaky boat. All this was done against the wishes of the nabob, who, when he heard of their agonising journey to his capital, ordered them to be at once set at liberty as their suffering had been great. Pretty young Mrs. Carey, the one woman who survived that night, was not sent to Murshidabad; she probably found her way with the others to the boats. The nabob, having changed the name of Calcutta to Alinagar, left in it a garrison of three thousand men under command of Manik Chand and returned to Murshidabad.

C. R. WILSON, M.A., LIT. DOC.

# The Cyclone of 1864.



OF the many and varied vicissitudes that the "Settlement" has passed through since that eventful "mid-day halt of Charnock" it is no exaggeration to say that the first day of the Doorga P'oojahs, Wednesday, October 5, 1864, ranks high up in the category of its trials.

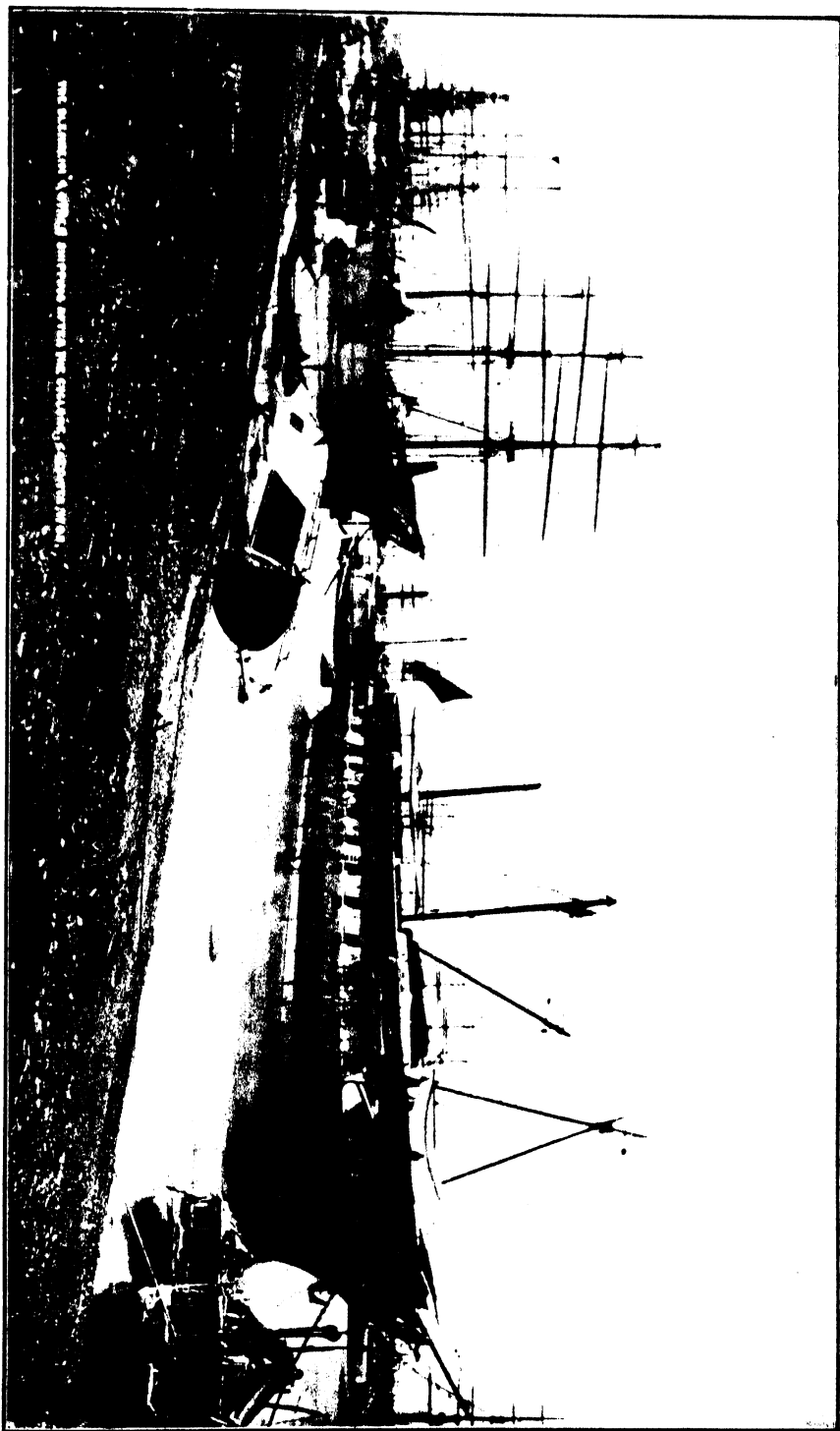
I am indebted to the generosity of Mr. F. Voigt for an extremely rare and interesting booklet published shortly after the cyclone which reprints from the *Bengal Harkaru* that journal's contemporary account of the great storm and it is mainly from this source that the present article is derived, though I must not omit to mention that some of its most interesting descriptive pictures were related to me by one who spent that eventful day on board one of the sailing vessels, being then a young apprentice on his first visit to Calcutta and destined in after years to become one of our well-known and respected citizens resident among us up to the end of last year. It is only proposed in this article to give a condensed outline of the calamity which overtook the city and its shipping, a detailed and more technical account being reserved for publication at some later date, when I hope to be able to place in the hands of the Calcutta Historical Society for publication in book form a complete account of all the great cyclones that have visited Calcutta from the time of the earliest records available, which will probably cover a period not far short of two centuries. The earliest will probably prove to be that of October 17, 1737, when all the "Company's" warehouses were wrecked.

On October 4, 1864, there was lying in the Hughli fifteen steamers of a registered tonnage of 14,500 tons, one hundred and twenty-three ships (*i.e.*, sailing vessels) aggregating 130,000 registered tonnage, and twenty-one barques of over 13,000 tons register, all of which flew the British flag.

In addition to these there were sixteen French vessels, three from America (one laden with ice), two from Hamburg, and others which brought the total up to one hundred and ninety-two vessels, exclusive of all local craft, tug boats, and Port authorities' vessels.

The shipping of those days extended in a long double or treble line from below Garden Reach to Armenian Ghat and needless to mention Howrah Bridge was not in existence nor were the Kidderpur Docks.

Tuesday, October 4, cast no shadow of the approaching disaster, true, it rained and blew during the night, but that was nothing unusual for the breaking up of the monsoon. Wednesday dawned with a lowering sky and heavy



THE SAILING SHIP OFFICE IMPROVES WITH THE CRUISE, SAILING SHIP.



drizzle, but men went about their business in the usual way. Except that the Meteorological Observatory has it on record that "the barometer commenced descending from 8 P.M. of the 4th to 2 P.M. of the 5th" there is nothing to indicate that anyone foresaw or anticipated events.

The indication at 6 A.M. is given as 29·72 and it declines steadily until 2·45 P.M. when the reading is 28·70, from that hour it rises steadily again to 29·64 at 8 P.M. The *Bengal Harkaru's* remarks on the meteorological figures are worth repeating :—"They are so meagre that we feel tempted to apologise for their production. We publish them, however, as a record of the state of science in Calcutta at the present time."

The *Bengal Harkaru*, like some of its journalistic descendants, was very much "agin the Government."

The most reliable meteorological record we have of that day is from the log of the *S.S. Reiver*, a small British steamer of 800 tons register, lying off the Esplanade moorings. It runs as follow :—

Tuesday, October 4, 1864, 8 P.M., heavy rain.

" " " midnight, wind N.E., strong gale, heavy rain.

Wednesday, 5, 6 A.M., strong gale from N.E., heavy rain.

" 9 A.M., wind and weather the same, barometer 29·70.

" 10 A.M., wind E., blowing a hurricane and rapidly increasing.

" 2 P.M., wind E.S.E., barometer 28·27.

" 2·45 P.M., hurricane at its height, aneroid 27·97.

" 3 P.M., barometer rapidly rising 28·10, wind S.E.

" 3-30 P.M., still blowing in tremendously heavy gusts and veering rapidly to the southward.

" 4 P.M., wind S.W. with occasional lulls. Barometer 28·50.

" 5 P.M., wind S.W. by W., barometer 29·20, gale going down rapidly, rain taking off.

" 6 P.M., wind the same and fine.

" 8 P.M., fresh breeze, dull cloudy weather, drizzling rain, wind W., barometer 29·62.

The four hours gap between 10 and 2 o'clock is very significant, all hands we may take it were too busy looking to the safety of their ship to have time to record the directions of the wind and barometer readings.

Here is the story as told to the writer, by one who went through it all, then only a lad.

"On the morning of October 5, 1864, we were lying off Hastings with all our awnings up. Close by us lay the *Glen Roy*, and a little further off a small French brig was riding, fully decked with flags in honor of some national event. Higher up in the middle of the river the vessel *Hannibal* was getting ready for her homeward voyage, having all



her topsails full set. Shortly after 9 o'clock a strong wind came up and most of the vessels hurried to take in all unnecessary canvas. Our Captain was away in hospital, and the chief mate ashore, leaving the vessel in charge of the second officer. We were just on the point of taking in the awnings when we were hailed with advice from a neighbouring vessel that we had better 'hurry up.' We let go the first ropes, but before any attempt could be made to secure the loosened canvas the wind came and ripped the whole thing off, and that was the last we ever saw of it. From that time until 5 o'clock that same afternoon I went through an experience and witnessed such sights as I have no desire ever to take part in or see again. Over 200 sailing vessels were lying around us and before that terrible day had finished only one solitary vessel remained at her moorings. Shortly before we broke away I saw the main topsails of the *Hannibal* floating gracefully over Howrah, and the smart little French brig that only an hour before had been decked out in holiday attire had not a pole standing, rent cordage, shattered deck, and a storm raging as though it would tear the ships in two. The *Glen Roy*, which I said was lying alongside of us, partly broke away and commenced sawing at our bulkhead, saw, saw, snap, snap, went plank after plank, until the bulkhead was cut clean off. Then we broke away and started on a mad drift up and down the river, anywhere between Hastings and Cossipur. There was no Hughli Bridge in those days to block our passage. When we finally broke away our officer in charge deserted us, and there were we, a crowd of boys and men, at the mercy of the elements. The first thing we youngsters did was to lay hands on all the food we could, neither did we forget to lay by for the homeward voyage, although to most of us it must have appeared a totally unnecessary preparation. Time after time we drove up and down the river and on one occasion went flying by the old Howrah Railway pontoon at not less than fifteen knots an hour. Early in the afternoon six or seven of us came together in a cluster and started bumping one against the other. A number of cargo boats and coolies had continued to cling to our sides from the time we broke away, and this was the case with several other vessels. Now that they began to grind one against the other these cargo boats were soon smashed, and every now and again some poor coolie, whom we could not help, would be crushed shapeless between the ship's sides and drop into the water. So things went on throughout the afternoon. Wreckage was piled everywhere, and the remains of fine vessels floated past us every moment. Some had been carried bodily on to the Strand Road and the funnels of one steamer were to be seen above the trees of the Botanical Gardens. Towards evening the storm died down and the moon came out on the now calm waters of the Hughli. For months after the docks were busy repairing and patch-

ing up the victims of that cyclone. Many were altogether lost, others were thrown high and dry on the banks and sold for firewood. Many, like ourselves, discharged all cargo and went into dock. By a curious coincidence many months afterwards we passed the *Hannibal* off the Cape, both of us homeward bound."

One of the first vessels to get adrift from her moorings was the steamer *Mauritius*, a vessel of 1,500 tons register, Captain Haddock in command, lying just above Fort Point, in breaking out from among her companions she carried another vessel with her and finally went ashore on the Howrah side of the river.

The *Thunder*, which followed close in her wake, piled up at the foot of Hare Street, having been lifted over the remains of a wreck which had been lying there for eight months.

The *Lady Franklin*, 1,187 tons, sunk shortly after parting from her moorings. "Sometimes alone," writes an eye witness, "and sometimes in groups the vessels passed into the mist only to be found next day wrecks on shore. The *Vulcan*, *Futty Shah Allum*, the *Simla*, the river steamer *Prince of Wales* broken in two, and the Government anchor boat *Heavehard* are all on shore jambed in a mass at Barnagore."

The Howrah Railway ghat and its vicinity showed fourteen ships stranded. At Armenian Ghat was the extraordinary spectacle of the ferry steamer *Howrah* high and dry on a brick jetty and near by the *Mirsapore*, a river steamer, was lying on the top of the Railway landing-stage.

The *Hampden*, 1,499 tons, Captain Macdonald, and the *Medusa*, a barque of 848 tons, Captain Plant, were both thrown on shore close to the old Mint. Opposite the Bankshall the *Azenia*, 1,179 tons, Captain Fitzgerald, had foundered and the *Oainta*, 1,165 tons, Captain White, was lying with her bows across the sunken vessel.

The floating church used by seamen had been thrown practically on to the Strand Road, the whole of that thoroughfare, as it then existed, being littered with wreckage. The P. and O. *Bengal* was landed high and dry on the bank at Bishop's College in company with the mail steamer *Nemesis*, another P. and O.; the mails were transferred to the *Nubia*, which after going ashore succeeded in floating again and was able to leave Calcutta on October 16. The P. and O. Company were very considerable sufferers, as in addition to the three vessels just named the *Hindustan* sunk.

• The *Alley*, proceeding down the river with coolie passengers, was overtaken by the gale and all hands lost with three hundred of the passengers. "The *Great Tasmania* is aground, and all but a wreck on Goosery Sands." How weird it reads of Calcutta fifty years after, the *Great Tasmania*, the

largest sailing ship in the port, over 2,000 tons register, aground on Goosery Sands !!

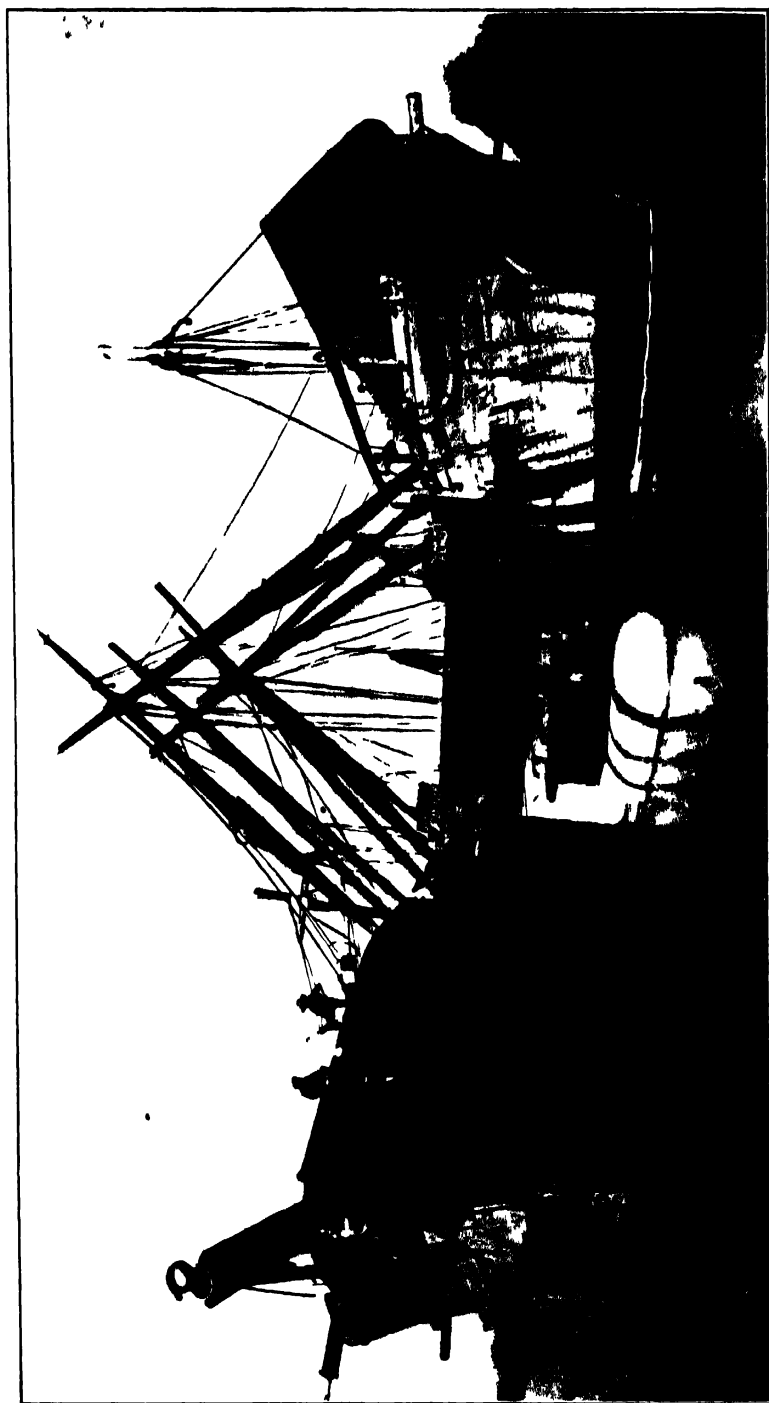
A fortnight after the storm there were still "supposed to be necessarily wrecks," twenty-three vessels British, French and American ashore at Cossipore, three off the Mint, eight on Goosery Sands, including the *Pride of Canada* and *Great Tasmania*, eight also ashore at Seebpur, four off Garden Reach, "but we fear that many others will have to be added as the springtides are now over and the river daily falling from the cessation of the rains," and this dismal prognostication was true, "many others" had to be added. Here is material for a mental picture next time the members of the Society go out on a river excursion, the scene of utter despondency which these huge wrecks must have presented, for there are few things more symbolic of desolation, more descriptive of grace and strength and beauty torn and marred by passion, than that of a great ship lying stranded with "rent cordage, shattered deck" after being at the mercy of an outburst of Nature for only an hour or two.

The *Bentinck*, a Government invalid ship, was carried bodily over the bund near Kedgerree, about 60 miles below Calcutta, and left in the jungle, where she promptly became a refuge for the people of the station whose houses and huts had been swept out of existence by the storm wave. When the surrounding waters had subsided the vessel was found to have seventeen feet of water in her, she was minus her deck roof and accommodation and her boats had been splintered to pieces. Some faint idea of the fury of the storm can be gathered from the fact that when carried over the bund the *Bentinck* had three anchors out. "The invalids and crew arrived in Calcutta on the afternoon of the 7th, having been brought up by the steam tug *Defiance*. They report the whole village near the Telegraph station at Diamond Harbour as having been washed away. Customs Officers, having escaped imminent peril while on their own service, took refuge on board the wrecked ship on the evening of the 5th, and on the evening of the 6th the whole were transferred to the *Defiance* in an admirable manner without loss of life, which successful result was contributed to by the able and zealous efforts of the Commanding Officer of the troops, assisted by the Sergeant-Major and non-commissioned officers."

One of the few pleasing incidents that stand out from the record of loss of life and devastation is the story of the *Govindpore* and the rescue of her crew by seaman Cleary.

The *Govindpore*, 1,357 tons, Captain Moscrop, "broke adrift from her moorings at the Esplanade, between 4 and 5 P.M., and after a collision with a vessel lying off Bankshall Ghat sunk; her crew were seen taking to the rigging, and intense excitement was felt as to their fate by the on-lookers on





the shore, she was not more than 40 yards from the beach, but no boat was available and certain death seemed to be staring them in the face. At this time a seaman named Edward Cleary, who was on the bank, volunteered to swim to the ship with a rope; this was made fast to his waist and he plunged into the turbid, seething water. His progress was watched with the utmost anxiety from the shore, for it was felt that his own risk was desperate; he persevered however, and reached her; a rope was attached from the ship to the line which Cleary had brought, and one by one the crew, numbering nine persons, were drawn ashore, those left on the wreck hauling in the line each time. Captain Moskrop saw all his men landed except one poor boy who was crushed by the falling of a spar, and so jambed in the rigging that he could not be extricated. He was dead and his body remained until next day. After hauling in the line by himself the Captain was too much exhausted to hold on by it to the shore, a boat, itself leaky, was put off from the steamship *Nada* and succeeded in bringing him off in safety, his rescuers only reaching the shore as their own boat sank."

Cleary was not permitted to go unrewarded though the reward was small compared with the service he rendered. Closing a long letter in which he gives a modest account of his action, he says :—

"I take this opportunity to return my thanks to Mr. Roberts, the Magistrate, for his present of Rs. 100, a certificate, and promise to get me a Medal from the Humane Society; to Captain Reveley, Deputy Commissioner of Police, for his present of Rs. 100, who also has written for the Medal; and to three other gentlemen, one of whom presented me with Rs. 30, and two others with Rs. 10 each, whose names and addresses I do not know."

It is to be hoped this hero did get his medal, Rs. 250 is not a large sum for saving nine lives.

The *Celerity's*, Captain Rodgers, story is brief, but to the point, she left Calcutta four days after the cyclone, "having on board Branch Pilots Rivett and Badgeley. Passed through a scene of horrors. Many bodies of natives and bullocks, ships lying high and dry on either side, and little activity seemingly displayed by the crews to get off.....Pilot Brig *Foam* at Ganjam helpless; no lives lost.....Woodroffe, the pilot, had gone in charge of the *Orissa*, and finding the *Light* adrift, tugged it into its place, and took command of it, repairing the light. Passed no wrecks (in the Bay), but great quantities of odds and ends, bodies of men and cattle without number."

• The following is extracted from a letter sent to England :—"I will try to tell you what I saw with my own eyes, I do not know when or where the first break took place; it was doubtless simultaneous at several points, and when one vessel parted she took her neighbours with her,—there was a

general move soon after 1 o'clock, stern moorings were giving away and vessels began to forge ahead. The group on the left was in commotion, and we were looking intently on, when something caused us to turn to that on the extreme right—and then there was a hush perceptible amidst the horrible noise of the wind, and a gasp "my God, they have disappeared!" there they were fast going out of sight to leeward through the mist.

The group in the centre soon followed, and they afford a good instance of the different fortunes of the ships that set out together on the same wild cruise. The ice ship was the first to go, and then the *Cheshire*, and the whole tier swung round. The *Cheshire* went off in perfect order, but nearly on her beam ends, and flew before the wind till she drove ashore near Howrah pier. The river was now an awful sight. The wind had by this time shifted to the southward, and blew if possible with greater fury directly up the stream, and soon set up a short irregular surge, sometimes blown flat, sometimes forming a misty union with the air. The gusts tore the water along in great strips and masses of spray, and with the rain it was so thick at times that hardly anything could be made out. At this time there were three cargo boats moored to a buoy about sixty yards from the shore, the water dashing and breaking over them in clouds. Presently a ship came down, heeling over, and evidently about to pass over the buoy. As she came nearer the boatmen were seen one after another to jump into the sea. Over the buoy she went, and it bobbed up from under her on the other side. The cargo boats were not to be seen. It was now that the destruction of lighters and river craft of all kinds was greatest as they either filled and sank, or were crushed between the vessels. These were now drifting past in great numbers, sometimes in indescribable confusion, smashing and fouling each other with masts and spars and sails in every variety of wreck—some mere hulks dismasted and swept, others in perfect trim.

It seemed as if some great engagement was going on somewhere on the left from which ship after ship was retiring, wounded and torn, and drifting away to leeward. The misty substitute for the sulphurous canopy made it more dreadful still, and the heart sank as one thought at one moment of the lives that were in peril and of them already lost and again of the ruin that was overtaking many an unconscious man far away.

There were some grand sights as well. One stately ship, the largest in port, hung on for a while without a spar touched or out of trim, but at length she too went after the others, stately still, but drifting at the rate of eight or ten knots an hour to certain destruction. Close after her, as if pursuing, a beautiful iron ship came by, every rope in order, but going at a fearful pace before the wind, as if under full sail, although she had not a rag of canvas on her yards.

## THE CITIZENS OF CALCUTTA.

A meeting was called by Mr. Walter Brett on October 13 at the Chamber of Commerce:—

"The result was that a steamer was chartered to go down to the districts in the Sunderbuns, reported as in distress, and started next day, with about 1,000 bags of rice and with a supply of water which is even more urgently needed from the tanks in the districts where distress is felt having been either filled up by the storm wave (salt water) which rushed over them, or corrupted by the decomposition of animal and vegetable substance carried into them."

At the meeting Rs. 25,000 were subscribed, which was considerably increased within a few days. "Five Parsee gentlemen were present and with the liberality of their race subscribed Rs. 500 each."

Turning from the river we have an account of the condition of things on shore.

Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. had half their top flat on the western side blown out, the Mahomedan Mosque at the corner of Dhurrumtollah Street was denuded of the majority of its domes and minarets. The Church of the Sacred Heart almost opposite lost the cross from its steeple, the masonry of which was also seriously injured. In Circular Road was one long series of ruins, but happily the church of St. John's (sic., should be St. James') then in course of construction escaped damage, the European Orphan Asylum was practically wrecked.

"In Harrington Street not a dwelling has escaped injury. Middleton Row is in the same state. In Wood Street also, and in short in all this district scarcely a house has escaped damage." "The top of the steeple and part of the roof of the Free Kirk in Wellesley Street is blown down and the greater part of the iron rails that surround the church." The bells of the Roman Catholic Church at Baitakannah with the entire steeple came down, crushing in its fall the whole frontage of the sacred building. St. John's suffered considerably, its railings were entirely demolished, and two ticca gharries were blown on to the *debris* and destroyed. The tall chimney stacks of the *Englishman* office collapsed on to the roof, the same fate befalling those of many other buildings, and the verandahs which shaded most of the shops in Court House Street were wrecked. "No. 2 Camac Street has parted in two and will have to be rebuilt." The rebuilding, however, was not done, the writer, occupying part of this house, has been able to trace the damage by the several steel beams which were evidently put in in place of the ruined wooden rafters, and one side of the house has had foundation buttresses put in.

The Gas-works suffered severely, one of the two gasometers, 100 feet in diameter and 60 feet high, was blown over, in consequence there was a heavy



shortage of gas for some days, the loss to the Gas Company, arising from general damage, was estimated at Rs. 50,000, in Fort William alone it cost over Rs. 10,000 to repair the damage and fittings.

The Botanical Gardens were destroyed, the patient labour of years, only the passage of time has been able to slowly blot out the damage done. Dr. Anderson, the then Curator, found a ship stranded in the gardens on the morning following the storm.

Bishop's College "presents a picture of desolation." Doors and windows are smashed to pieces, the masonry damaged "and the beautiful stained glass window in the chapel destroyed."

In Kidderpur alone the damage was placed at 62,000 native dwellings and 50 European houses destroyed. The steeple of St. Stephen's School was completely demolished, the compound of the Vicarage wrecked, the tower of the church injured and the great skylight carried away *en bloc*. Most of the churches appear to have suffered a loss peculiar to themselves in that they lost their beautiful stained glass windows, those of St. Peter's in the Fort were shattered, but perhaps the most lamentable loss of all was the absolute ruin of the famous Benjamin West window in St. Paul's Cathedral. This was painted by the well-known Benjamin West to the order of George III and was originally intended for St. George's Chapel, Windsor, the subject being the Crucifixion. A rough sketch of the window is preserved in one of the Cathedral Volumes.

Throughout Alipore and district the damage was very heavy. Belvedere house and grounds were denuded of windows, doors and trees. Tolly's Nullah overflowed its banks and the bridge was partially destroyed by lighters and barges being swept on to its piers as will be seen from one of the illustrations.

The Eden Gardens, first laid out by the Honourable Misses Eden, sisters of the Viceroy, Lord Auckland, "presented an unsightly mass of wreck."

Spence's refreshment room, which was situated in the Gardens of those days, was demolished and, says the narrator, "it is to be hoped that the authorities will not suffer it to be re-erected in the same place, where it is a nuisance to those who make use of the gardens, not as a place for drinking, but as a promenade." This hope, as we of to-day know, was gratified.

The figures put together some time after the cyclone for Calcutta and suburbs are given as :—

Natives killed	41
„ wounded	12
„ pucca houses damaged	1,383
„ „ „ destroyed	18
„ kutchha „ „	89,412

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Europeans killed	2
" injured	5
" houses damaged	2,296
" " destroyed	92

This refers only to losses on shore, what the loss of life on the river must have been we can never know or estimate, hundreds of country boats must have gone down and the loss of human life appalling in their number. "We make no attempt to sum up the amount of loss sustained, we have heard it estimated at 3 millions sterling in Calcutta, which is probably under the truth if we take into account the value of the cargoes as well as ships."

The last memorable cyclone prior to that of 1864 appears to have been in 1852 and, curiously enough, at two previous intervals of ten years, storms of cyclonic intensity swept the city, *e.g.*, in 1842 and 1833.

Very plaintively expressed is the hope that "the severe lesson we have just received will teach us to take precautions for the future which are quite within our power, and, if so, the lesson will not have been taught in vain. It is to be hoped that before the next recurrence of our decennial tempest we shall have docks in which our shipping may find shelter. This subject has been under consideration for a quarter of a century, but even the ground has not yet been bought, the people of Calcutta were under the old *régime* of the East India Company accustomed to rely upon the charity of Government for every good thing, they yet see men as trees walking and like children fear to walk alone. It is probable that the calamity which has just overtaken us may have the effect of calling forth a little of the energy which no doubt is latent, and if so even out of this evil good may come."

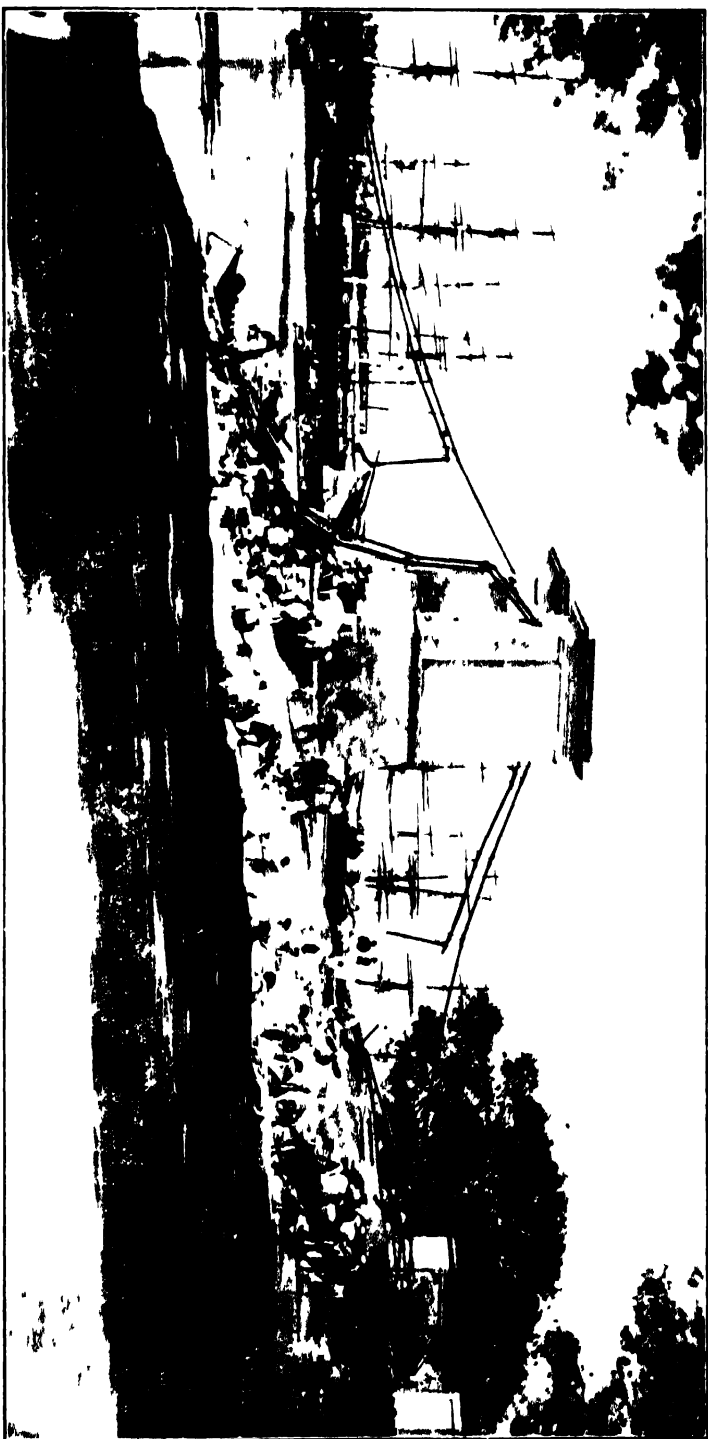
It is interesting to note the area seriously affected by the cyclone. Its formation would appear to have taken place somewhere in the vicinity of Kedgerree, some 60 miles below Calcutta, from there its path was marked out in general devastation, Diamond Harbour, Mud Point, Oolobariah, Midnapore, 90 miles west of Calcutta, Dum Dum, Barrackpur, Baraset, Kooshtea, Serampur, Chandernagore, Chinsurah, "it is probable that not less than 1,000 lives were lost at this station on shore and in the river." Hooghly (the Imambara was unroofed). Burdwan, Sooksaugor (40 miles N.W. of Calcutta), an entire plantation of 4,000 date trees, under cultivation for sugar, was laid flat. Sooree, 122 miles N.W. of Calcutta, Culna (Khulna), Nuddea the "surviving inhabitants are reduced to abject poverty. Thousands of cattle have been killed, and cargo boats without number sunk. In the Sudder station alone, the damage is estimated at 45 lakhs of rupees." Krishnaghur, 150 miles N.E. of Calcutta "on the Matabangah nine-tenths of the boats have sunk and many families going home for the Doorga Poojah Holidays have been drowned."

The width of the storm area was approximately 70 miles and it can be traced in a N.E. direction for over 200 miles.

I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Messrs. Bourne & Shepherd for the trouble they took in searching through hundreds of old negatives to find the photographs which illustrate this account. Copies of these and other photographs of the cyclone can be obtained from them.

J. DE G. DOWNING.





THE TOWER AT KUTUBI AT WAS EXISTING WITHOUT  
WIN TO IT BE NOT CONSTANTLY LITTING IT  
FIRE TO BE T AND NOT SHEDDING 1904



# The Old Calcutta Exchange.\*



**HISTORY** of some of the older houses, engaged in commerce in Calcutta, would, as you Mr. Editor have suggested, prove most interesting reading and at the same time most instructive. The late Mr. H. W. I. Wood once contemplated something of the kind, but the demands upon his time as Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce were so urgent, that he was unable to face the labour. It was he who stated that the records of the Chamber left it doubtful whether, in respect of an unbroken record, Messrs. Gisborne & Co. or Mackenzie, Lyall & Co. were the premier members of the Chamber. For the year 1847 played sad havoc with some of the best houses, some of which revived, only at a later date, to suffer a complete collapse; but the winding up, in 1893, of the former firm has since placed Mr. Wood's question at rest.

There are doubtless still a few left in Calcutta who will recollect "The Exchange" at its old site on the south side of Dalhousie Square, extending from Vansittart Row, on the east, to Council House Street, and bounded on the south by the premises now occupied by the Bengal Telephone Company and Vansittart Row. It also comprised the present quarters of the Alliance Bank (rebuilt within the last decade) upon the site of what used to be the Bishop's Palace in the days of Bishop Middleton, when St. John's was the Cathedral Church.

The name "The Exchange" was derived from the place now occupied by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway offices, being first used as Coffee-rooms, and much frequented by the Ship Captains of those days; from this fact, the name of "The Coffee Exchange" came into use, subsequently altered to "The Exchange." The upper storey (now occupied by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway) was designated "The Assembly Rooms." This would be before the present Town Hall was erected, and many a tale the old white pillars of that upper storey could tell, if they could but speak, of the be-wigged and be-powdered Sahibs and Memsahibs of those days, whose names have long since been forgotten.†

The history of the inception of "the Calcutta Exchange" is as follows :—

In 1817, certain of the trading community in Calcutta, who were neither Senior nor Junior Merchants connected with the H. E. I. Co.'s Service,

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\* This article originally appeared in the *Indian Daily News* of September 9, 1898. It is here reprinted by kind permission in a revised and extended form.

† For a time this building served the purpose of the Marquess of Wellesley's College of Fort William, and here Carey, Buchanan and Brown lectured to the rulers of India.—EDITOR, *S. P. & P.*

applied to the Governor-General (Lord Cornwallis) for permission to erect an Exchange for their use, offering to defray the cost, provided a grant of land for that purpose was allowed them. The Governor-General not only agreed, but actually selected a site in Bankshall Street (about where the Court of Small Causes now stands), but the scheme, on being referred to England, to the Honorable Board of Directors, fell through, perhaps through the jealousy evoked by the increasing influx of European traders not connected with the H. E. I. Co.

The outside merchants were not, however, to be thwarted, and, in 1818, they secured the premises in Dalhousie Square now occupied by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company, at the corner of Council House Street and Dalhousie Square. The first Secretary to the Exchange appears to have been a Mr Brodie, who, in 1822, was succeeded by Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie. The latter, finding his duties becoming somewhat onerous, applied for permission to have an assistant, the latter being eventually Mr. James Napier Lyall. Messrs. Mackenzie and Lyall were appointed in 1823 Joint-Secretaries, while being at the same time allowed to trade upon their own account. This they did to some purpose, and increased their business to such an extent, that, in 1827, they admitted into partnership one Mr. James Lamb, junior, and at the same time altering the style of their firm to that of Messrs. Mackenzie, Lyall & Co. Auctions were periodically held on the premises by all who had goods to dispose of in this manner, among whom was the H. E. I. Co., who thus found an outlet for their Opium and Salt.

Messrs. Mackenzie and Lyall began as Joint-Secretaries to the Exchange with a small Commission Agency, and did not start this branch of their business until June 1824. Shortly before this period, two well-known firms of auctioneers, Messrs. James Lamb & Co. and Messrs. Taylor & Co., suspended payment, thus making room for another firm of more vigorous growth. The failure of this firm doubtless gave Messrs. Mackenzie and Lyall the opportunity of starting in this line, and their connection with the Exchange as Secretaries afforded them facilities over their rivals, which were bound to enable them to retain and increase their ascendancy. As years went on, the firm's connection increased to such an extent that they were able to secure the entire possession of the block of premises, extending from Vansittart Row, on the one side, to the building in Council House Street, previously known as the Bishop's Palace (pulled down in 1887), on the other.

Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie—a Scotchman it would appear from an old Bengal Directory (in which his name is first mentioned)—came out to India in 1817. He went to Chittagong as an assistant to a Mr. D. McRae,

but found his way to Calcutta in 1820, where he was employed by Messrs. Gould & Campbell, Auctioneers, leaving them, in 1822, to become the Secretary to the Exchange in succession to Mr. Brodie. Having made his money, he left India about 1830, when he went back to Scotland, but losing his fortune in unfortunate speculations he returned about 1845 to Calcutta, but did not long survive.

Mr. James Napier Lyall came originally from Montrose and was connected more or less directly with that family name, which has added such lustre to the Civil Service of India. Commencing his career in life as a Midshipman in the Royal Navy, he arrived in Calcutta in 1816, to seek his fortune, armed merely with a letter of introduction from Coutts the Banker,—the father of the late Baroness Burdett-Coutts. The following is a copy of the letter in question which was addressed to Mr. A. Seton, apparently the head of one of the Departments under the Governor-General. It ran as follows:—

To

A. SETON, Esq.,

*Calcutta.*

MY DEAR SIR,

A very old friend of mine, who died a few years ago, Sir James Napier, for whom I had a most sincere regard, left all his fortune among some great nephews, his nearest relations. One of them, Mr. James Napier Lyall, will deliver this letter. He entered very early into the Navy, and had the misfortune to be shipwrecked on the coast of France, where he was detained eight years a prisoner; finding on his return to England, the time he passed in confinement did not reckon in the period necessary for promotion, he has determined to leave the Service, and having in consequence of the failure of two brothers, in whose hands he had placed his fortune, been obliged to relinquish a plan of engaging in business in England, he has accepted the offer of a friend in the E. I. Co.'s service to accompany him to India, in the hope of being able to turn his talents and acquirements, which are not inconsiderable, to advantage. He has, in this view, succeeded in obtaining Free Mariner's Indentures, and as his success must, in a great measure, depend upon his finding Friends, disposed to encourage and assist him in the laudable object he has in view, I write this, begging your good offices in favour of Mr. Lyall; you may have many opportunities of mentioning him to many commercial Friends, who, I have great hopes, will be sensible of his merit, and will be well inclined to promote them. Your father was long and intimately acquainted with Sir James Napier and I have very great desire to be of service to his nephew, so that any exertion you may be so kind to make in his behalf, I shall consider a great obligation. If anything should be thought fit to be done, through the Governor-General, I feel confident his Lordship would not be ill-inclined to serve one I am interested to promote. Sir J. N. was very intimate in friendly terms with Sir J. Macnamara Hayes, M.D., who was a great friend of Lord Moira. I have not heard from you a great while, and as I grow very old, long much to hear of your coming home, that I may see you before I am called to another world.

Believe me, My dear Sir, with the most affect. regards,  
Your most faithful old friend,

T. COUTTS.

*Date 1816.*



About Mr. Lyall there is now to be seen at the Royal Exchange, Calcutta, a Circular Letter, dated 19th December, to the Merchants of Calcutta, running as follows:—

Calcutta, 19th December 1833.

DEAR SIRs,—It appears to the undersigned, that to possess periodically, say on the 1st of January and 1st July in each year, a correct knowledge of the stock in first hands of the principal articles of our imports from Britain, would be exceedingly valuable to the whole mercantile community.

We consider that the best mode of preparing such a statement will be, to appoint one individual to receive confidentially from each house, a note of the stock held by it, from which, he may prepare an aggregate statement of the quantity of each article of Piece Goods, Metals and Twist, without stating by whom they are held, a copy of which shall be circulated to all who have taken part in giving the information. It being distinctly understood, that the individual shall not make any use of the information thus received for any other purpose than furnishing said statement of stock and that the quantity of any article held by a particular house shall not be divulged by him to any person whatever.

The objection on the part of any house to let the stock held by it be generally known and published will thus be done away and it is hoped, that for an object universally desirable, no house will refuse to furnish to one individual who shall receive the communication In Confidence, the necessary information.

It is requested, that those who agree to the measure will signify the same opposite their respective names on the other side.

We are,

Dear Sirs,

Yours faithfully,

BAGSHAW & Co., TURNER STOPFORD & Co., COCKERILL & Co.

To which the following Firms, *viz.*—

BAGSHAW & Co.—Agree.

BATES ELLIOTT & Co.—Assent provided  
MR. J. N. LYALL fills the office.

BOYD & Co.—*Vide* other page.

BRUCE SHAND & Co.—Assent if such a person  
as MR. LYALL is appointed.

C. A. CANTOR.—Agree.

COCKERILL & Co.—Agree if MR. LYALL is  
appointed.

J. & H. COWIE.—Do.

EGLITON MCCLURE & Co.—Do.

GILLANDERS, ARBUTHNOT & Co.—Agree.

GILLMORE & Co.—Agree.

GISBORNE & Co.—Do.

JAMIESON & Co.—Agree to giving list of  
stock on 1st proximo without, however,  
pledging themselves to do so at any future  
period.

LIVINGSTONE & Co.—Agree.

LYALL MATHEWSON & Co.—Agree if Mr.  
LYALL or satisfactory individual is appointed.

MALCOLM BUCHANAN & Co.—Agree.

MONTIFIORRE, JOSEPH & KELSALL.—A cypher  
be used, and it be understood, that the  
result is not to be declared to any  
banian or any other party.

MULLER RITCHIE & Co.—Agree provided  
MR. J. N. LYALL be appointed.

MACINTYRE & Co.—Agree if MR. LYALL  
undertakes the trouble.

OSWALD GLASGOW & Co.—Agree if MR.  
LYALL appointed and undertakes the office.

SHEDDON & Co.—We willingly consent.

SMITHSON, HOLESWORTH & Co.—Agree.

TURNER STOPFORD & Co.—Agree.

WILLIS & EARLE.—We agree most cheerfully  
J. N. LYALL being appointed.

WILSON FRITH & Co.—Agree do.

YOUNGHOUSE & CROOK.—

Assent if MR. LYALL will undertake the  
business.

There is no record to show how the matter terminated. Mr. Lyall retired to Montrose in 1837 and there died, having enjoyed his good fortune for many years.

MACKENZIE, LYALL & CO. originally occupied the upper storey in Dalhousie Square, and having acquired the whole building and the adjacent houses (including the Bishop's Palace) for over 60 years, the business was carried on here. They removed subsequently to their present offices in Lyon's Range in 1888: one of their houses (No. 1) now occupied having been leased by the founder of the firm some 40 years before he set up in business for himself, upon his return to India, under the style of Murdoch Mackenzie (late of Mackenzie, Lyall & Co.). Until lately there was employed in Mackenzie, Lyall & Co.'s office a Baboo who recollected the old founder upon his return to India in 1845, and who, therefore, can be said to bridge over the period between 1823 and 1898.

In 1837 Mr. Lamb retired. Mr. Edward Whyte was admitted a partner in 1832 followed by Mr. Alfred D. Parker in 1838 and Mr. Francis B. Paton in 1842, the latter being a nephew of Mr. J. N. Lyall, who retired in 1848 to Montrose, where he died in 1894.

About Mr. Whyte, the old firm have still a most interesting and quaint document in their possession, hung in their office, *viz.* :—a permission, dated 1829, from the Hon. E. I. Company, allowing him to land and trade under certain conditions, and specifying what he covenanted to perform, concluding that he was not to leave the country without paying his just debts.

The document in question runs as follows :—

#### PERSONS TO RESIDE ACT—1826.

This indenture made the sixth day of March in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine, between the United Company Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, of the one part, and EDWARD WYTE of the other part, WITNESSETH, that, at the request of EDWARD WYTE, the said United Company have given, and granted, full and free license, power, and authority, unto the said EDWARD WYTE, during the pleasure of the said Company, and until this license shall be revoked by the said Company, or their Court of Directors, or the Governor-General, or Governor of the Presidency, where the said EDWARD WYTE, shall, from time to time, be found to the principal settlement of Fort William in Bengal, belonging to the said United Company, in the East Indies, there to reside for the purpose of being employed in the Counting House of McJONES, MACKENZIE, and according, and subject to the Provisions and Restrictions, contained in an Act of Parliament made and passed in the fifty-third year of the reign of His Majesty, KING GEORGE the Third, entitled "An Act for continuing in the East India Company, for a further term, the possession of the British Territories in India, together with certain exclusive privileges, for establishing further Regulations for the Government of the said Territories, and the better Administration of Justice, within the same, and for regulating the Trade, to and from the places

Recital of the parties' application for leave to go to India and there to reside.

within the limits of the said Company's Charter, and subject to all such Provisions and Restrictions as are, or hereafter may be in force, with regard to Persons residing in

He covenants

India and also subject to the Covenants and Agreements of the said

EDWARD WHYTE hereinafter mentioned. Provided always, and these Presents are upon this Express Condition, that in case of Breach, or Non-observance of any of the Provisions, Restrictions, Covenants, or Agreements, subject to which, this License is granted, and on the part of the said EDWARD WHYTE to be observed, and performed, then and from thenceforth, the License hereby granted, shall be, and become, absolutely null and void and of no Force or Effect whatsoever, and the said EDWARD WHYTE shall be deemed, and taken to be a person residing, and being in the East Indies, without any License or Authority for that purpose, and the said

Firstly, to submit himself to the regulations of the local Governments there.

EDWARD WHYTE, for Himself, his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, doth hereby Covenant, Promise and Agree, to and with, the said United Company, in manner and form following;

that is to say; that he the said EDWARD WHYTE, from the time of his arrival at Fort William aforesaid shall, and will behave himself, from time to time, in all respects,

Secondly, not to trade contrary to law.

conformably to all such Regulations as now are, or hereafter may be in Force at the said Presidency, or at any other Presidency,

in the East Indies, where the said EDWARD WHYTE may happen to be, and which shall be applicable to him or his Conduct, and which he ought to obey, observe, and conform to; That he the said EDWARD WHYTE, shall not, nor will by himself or in partnership, with any person or persons, or by the Agency of any person or persons either as Principal, or Factor, or Agent, directly, or indirectly, engage, carry on, or be concerned in any Trade, Bank, Dealings or Transactions whatsoever contrary to Law;

Thirdly, to make satisfaction to natives or foreigners and to Native States for oppression, wrong and offences.

and that in case the said EDWARD WHYTE, shall be guilty of any Violence, Oppression, or wrong to any person or persons, not being an European-born Subject or European-born subjects of His Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, or shall commit any offence

against any King, Prince, Government, State or Nation, within the limits of the said Company's Charter or shall be charged with any such Violence, Oppression, Wrong, or Offence, then, and in such case the said EDWARD WHYTE, shall and will submit himself therein, in all things to the decision of the said United Company, or their Court of Directors, or of the Governor-General in Council, or Governor in Council of, any of the Presidencies of the said Company, in the East Indies, if they or any of them, shall see fit to interfere therein; and that he the said EDWARD WHYTE, his Executors or Administrators, shall, and will pay, and make good, all such Sum and Sums of money, and do, and perform all such Acts, Matters, and Things whatsoever, as a reparation of the injuries which he shall have occasioned, or the offence he shall have given, as he shall be required by any such decision to pay, make good, do, or perform; and on failure thereof, it shall be lawful to, and for the said Company, or their Court of Directors, or any of their Agents, to pay, or cause the same to be paid, made good, done, and performed and thereupon the said EDWARD

Fourthly, not to quit India without satisfying all debts to the Company, Natives, and Foreigners before departure.

WHYTE, his Executors, or Administrators, shall, and will, re-imburse to the said Company, all such sum or sums of money, as shall be paid, and all costs, charges and expenses, which may be incurred thereby; and that, before he, the said EDWARD WHYTE, shall

return to Europe, or remove from, quit, or leave the Presidency, or Settlement, where he shall reside, or shall be found he the said EDWARD WHYTE, shall and will pay and satisfy and perform all such debts sums of money, duties, and engagements, as he

shall owe, or be liable to perform to the said Company, or any person or persons, not being an European-born subject or European-born subjects of His Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, or for any injury or offence he may have done or committed, as hereinbefore mentioned; and that in case of any Breach of this Covenant, he the said EDWARD WYTTZ, shall, and will pay unto the said Company, and their successors, for the Damages in respect of the Breach thereof of such sum of money, as he shall have owed, and which he shall have omitted to pay, as hereinbefore mentioned, or such sum of money, as shall be equal to the damage actually sustained by any person or persons, by Breach, or Non-performance of any duty or engagement, which under the Covenant, hereinbefore contained, he ought to have satisfied, or performed, before such return or removal, to the end that the said Company, if they shall see fit, may pay over such damages, to the creditor or creditors, or injured party, or parties, for his, her, or their own benefit, or may apply them to any other purpose, or keep them for the use of the said Company, their Successors, or Assigns. IN WITNESS whereof, to one part of these Indentures, the said United Company have caused their common seal to be affixed; and to the other part thereof the said EDWARD WYTTZ has set his hand; and seal, the day and year, above written.

H. E. I. Co.'s Seal.

(Signed)

W. BABINGTON.\*

The gentleman referred to in the foregoing document, evidently used his opportunities to some purpose, as he appears to have shaken the Pagoda Tree (then extant) so vigorously, that he has the credit of having been the richest partner in the firm, and in the days, too, when that much abused and depreciated rupee was worth certainly over two shillings. He did not, however, live long to enjoy his fortune, but found a resting-place in Circular Road.

In 1843 Mr. John Hamilton was admitted, but died in 1848, best remembered by his brother George, admitted in 1858, who, retiring in 1866, until a few years back enjoyed a green old age at a romantic spot at Row, on the Gareloch, where any old Indian was heartily welcome, specially if his memory went back to the pre-Mutiny days, when Dum-Dum was the Head-quarters of the Bengal Artillery, and where, at the weekly open Mess night, there was no more popular guest than George Hamilton. He had but little hirsute appendage to boast of, and it is of him the story was told of an irate Yankee skipper entering the office, demanding to see Mr. Mackenzie or Mr. Lyall. "There is no Mackenzie or Lyall now," they told him. "Wal," was the rejoinder, "I want to see the man I saw yesterday; he looked as if he had passed through (place unmentionable to polite ears) with his hat off."

In John Hamilton's time was held the celebrated sale of opium in 1846. The general version was, to the effect, that the Government insisted upon the auction being held, while the native merchants, waiting for news by the China boat then coming up the river, were bent upon frustrating their object, and

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\* The Godfather of Thomas Babington Macaulay?

so ran the price of the first chest of opium up to Rs. 1,30,955, when the sale was stopped, after having lasted all day until the evening, but the late Mr. Wm. Stalkartt, of Goosery, whose recollections of Calcutta date from 1833, stated the whole affair arose from a gambling transaction between two factions of Marwaris betting as to which side should secure the first chest of opium; the magnitude of the wagers can be imagined when either party could afford to go up to Rs. 1,30,955, and yet be prepared to continue. A Babu, until a few years ago, in the employ of the firm of Mackenzie, Lyall & Co., well recollected the scene of confusion on that day, both inside the office and outside in Tank Square, as it was then called, but now known as Dalhousie Square. When it came to the rival factions throwing each other into the water, the police had to be sent for to restore peace. The sale was eventually stopped by order of Mr. Torrens, the then Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and fresh conditions of sale eventually compiled, which prevented a recurrence of such a state of affairs.

The ivory hammer, used upon that occasion, is still to be seen at the office. How it was lost for over 30 years and subsequently recovered, is, as Rudyard Kipling would say, "another story." It has engraved upon it the circumstances of the above sale, the names of the partners and also the then ruling average price, per chest, of Patna opium, *viz.* :—Co.'s Rs. 1,793-5-9.

In 1844, Mr. D. McCallum was admitted a partner, succeeding Messrs. Parker and Paton, and who retired in 1848 to be followed by another Englishman, Mr. E. W. Wingrove, extremely popular, and who maintained a generous hospitality. For some years the business was carried on by Messrs. McCallum, Wingrove and F. R. Hampton, the last mentioned, dying in 1851, was succeeded by Mr. John Watson.

In 1858, on the retirement of Mr. Wingrove, there was a great infusion of new blood, Mr. Edward Creaton, formerly of Messrs. D. C. Mackay & Co., came up from Moulmein, while Mr. Peter Anderson, of Messrs. Gladstone, Wyllie & Co.'s Rangoon house, also joined.

It was the latter who stirred the dry bones of the Scotch residents by reviving the St. Andrew's Day dinners—not the huge public feasts of to-day, but limited to genuine "brither Scots" when old Malcolm McNeill, dressed in full Highland garb, was wont to give his national airs. At the dinner of 1859, the Hon. Mr. James Wilson, who had only arrived that morning in Calcutta, made his first public appearance as our first Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer—a career all too brief—for most of those who cheered him on the 30th of November, 1859, followed his honoured remains to the grave on a day in the following August—one of those frightful days in the rainy season when the "Windows of Heaven" are opened,—and the mourners, headed by Lord Canning, trod their way behind the coffin.

Mr. John Watson left India in 1863, and Mr. Edward Creaton in 1865, Mr. G. W. Hamilton retired in 1867 and Mr. Peter Anderson followed suit in 1869, the partners then being Mr. William Pirie Duff, the son of Dr. Duff—the well-known Indian Missionary—and Mr. Alfred Parker, whose father had been associated with the old firm during the previous generation. These vacancies admitted Mr. William Edward Creaton and Mr. Charles Brock, who, on the retirement of Mr. Parker in 1879, admitted Mr. Donald Campbell Creaton, and on that of Mr. Duff in 1885, Mr. W. Crichton Fyfe. Mr. D. C. Creaton resigned, however, shortly through ill-health, and Mr. Fyfe died in 1892, after which the business was carried on for some years by Messrs. Creaton and Brock. The latter left India for ever in 1894, but did not long survive to enjoy his well-earned rest, dying at the commencement of 1898. These last two partners also were very popular and among the first members of the Ballygunge Cricket Club, of which for many years (until he left India) Mr. Brock was the President. He served as a Volunteer in the irregular cavalry during the Mutiny (when he obtained the Mutiny medal) and subsequently joined Mackenzie, Lyall & Co. in 1861, from which period he enjoyed the popularity usually awarded to one who takes a great interest in athletic sports and volunteering. He was, up to his retirement, one of the leading spirits of the Ballygunge Cricket Club and an energetic member of the Calcutta Light Horse.

Mr. W. E. Creaton was well known, and his kindly disposition was such that anyone really in need of help never applied in vain, and his fancy signature of "Bill of Exchange" was always welcomed when the hat was sent round for any charitable purpose.

In 1894 Mr. L. E. D. Rose succeeded Mr. Brock, and Mr. Creaton, retiring in 1897, was replaced by Mr. A. W. Shallow. The former joined the firm in 1873 and the latter in 1879. This brings the history of the old firm up to date.

The following is a list of the original and past members of

MACKENZIE & LYALL (1823)

subsequently MACKENZIE, LYALL & CO. (1827)

*Vis.—*

1. Murdoch Mackenzie	...	...	...	1823 to 1830
2. James Napier Lyall	...	...	...	1823 " 1837
3. James Lamb	...	...	...	1827 " 1837
4. Edward Whyte	...	...	...	1832 " 1841
5. R. M. Cleugh	...	...	...	1832 " 1833
6. Alfred D. Parker	...	...	...	1838 " 1848
7. Francis B. Paton	...	...	...	1842 " 1848
8. William L. Whyte	...	...	...	1842 " 1843

9.	John Hamilton ...	...	...	1843 to 1847
10.	Donald MacCallum ...	...	...	1844 „ 1856
11.	Edwin W. Wingrove ...	...	...	1847 „ 1859
12.	F. R. Hampton ...	...	...	1849 „ 1851
13.	John Watson ...	...	...	1854 „ 1863
14.	Edward Creaton ...	...	...	1858 „ 1865
15.	Geo. Hamilton ...	...	...	1858 „ 1866
16.	Peter Anderson ...	...	...	1858 „ 1869
17.	William Pirie Duff ...	...	...	1864 „ 1885
18.	Alfred Parker, Jr. ...	...	...	1867 „ 1879
19.	William Edward Creaton, Jr. ...	...	...	1874 „ 1897
20.	Charles Brock ...	...	...	1874 „ 1893
21.	Donald Campbell Creaton, Jr. ...	...	...	1880 „ 1885
22.	William Crichton Fyfe ...	...	...	1886 „ 1891

### THE EXCHANGE GAZETTE AND DAILY ADVERTISER

Established in 1818, is a standing Calcutta institution, and though owing to the ravages of time and white ants, there is not a complete record from the commencement, still there are files for very many years complete, while, carefully kept under lock and key, can be seen the original copy of Vol. No. 1 (with only a few pages missing). From one of the bound volumes, 1841, we learn that the first tea sale was held by Mackenzie, Lyall & Co.,—an industry which has since advanced by leaps and bounds. The filed volumes have often been subpoenaed by the High Court of Calcutta and the Court of Small Causes.

There is a legend, we believe, of a Governor-General in the fifties, stating that *The Exchange Gazette* was the most interesting publication in Bengal, but he was doubtless having a sly hit at the local Thunderers, *The Scotsman*, *The Weekly Nuisance*, etc., who, in the days before the telegraph was laid to India, could not be expected to furnish everything up-to-date, and whose adverse criticisms upon his Government had something to do, perhaps, in influencing his opinion.

The following are a few Notices culled from the first Volume of the *Gazette* :—

9th August, 1818. Government House, August 3rd, 1818.

The most Noble The Governor-General requests the Company of His Majesty's and the Honorable Company's Civil, Navy, and Military Servants at the Ball and Supper on Wednesday the 12th instant in celebration of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's Birthday.

H. CALDWELL, A.D.C.

9th September 1818.

### OBITUARY.

Yesterday, at Chowringhee, much lamented, the Lady of JOHN FENDALL, Esq., Aged 57.

## NOTICE.

In consequence of numerous enquiries being made at "The Exchange" for the address of strangers and others, whose places of abode are not generally known, a book is opened at "The Exchange" for the use of those who may be desirous of making their residence known throughout this medium.

## FOUND.

Left at one of the tables at "The Exchange" a pocket handkerchief and some letters, which will be delivered to the owner upon application.

## NOTICE.

9th December 1818. Opium Office.

Notice is hereby given that the first Public Sale of the Honorable Co.'s Opium of 1817-18 will be held at The Exchange Rooms, instead of the Old Fort on Wednesday, the 30th December, at 11 o'clock.

## LODGINGS WANTED.

A gentleman wishes to be accommodated with unfurnished lodgings in an airy upper-roomed house.—N.B.—The apartments must have glass windows.

31st July 1818.

## FOR PASSENGERS ONLY.

The ship *Success*, J. MARTIN, Commander, having the whole of her freight engaged, will leave the moorings direct for London in a few days. For passage, apply to the Commander at "The Exchange," or Messrs. BAGSHAW, BARLOW & Co.

To revert, however, to the old days of 50 years ago, when office tiffin-tables were well-recognised open institutions and time of no great object. The one at *The Exchange* was very popular and where anyone known to the partners was a welcome guest. Among those might be remembered Mr. James Rose, of Messrs. Pennington & Co., a kind, generous and hospitable friend long since passed hence. With him, perhaps, once a week came Henry Mortlock Aitken, of John Elliott & Co., who retired in course of time, but who is still to the fore and bearing his years well. There was Joseph Graham, later on Advocate-General of Bengal, until lately a Benchers of the Middle Temple and a Q.C. Then also came, subsequently, James Alexander Crawford, Collector of Customs, eminently a just man. At the tiffin-table he was brimful of anecdote, one of the best being in connection with a man, a strange local character, styling himself the hero of 132 fights. One day Crawford related he had obtained access to his private office, and so, introducing himself, Crawford readily replied, "If you don't get out of this, I will make you the hero of 133," which had the desired effect and he fled precipitately. Another daily visitor was George Keighley, the Broker, whose death took place in 1875, just as he was on the eve of retirement; there are still some who would recollect C. J. Nasmyth, another visitor later on, who is still to be daily seen in the City with a venerable beard, got up as nattily as years before, so rumour had it he used to drive down to office when in Calcutta with white kid gloves. F. Woodhouse, the



Norman Brothers ( Charles and John!), Howe, head of the Marine Department at Kidderpore, and the *light* weight, C. K. Dove, of the Post Office, also very often looked in. It was to the latter, once tumbling out of bed, Dave Carson attributed a slight local earthquake to his extreme annoyance. Occasionally there attended that genial spirit, Crossman, of the Lahore Light Horse, then stationed at Barrackpore; one of the best stories was told at his own expense. He was attached as a youngster to the staff of Lord Hardinge. There was to be a Fancy Dress Ball, the characters to appear in historical costume. Crossman was told off to the Belle of the season, so went to Mr. Gilchrist then the head of Ranken & Co., and said, " Mr. G., I am to appear at the ball in such a character, and I wish you to dress me *en regle*." " That will be very costly " quoth Gilchrist. " Oh! hang the cost," said the cheery Crossman, and then added, " It wiped off six months' pay, and I have been in debt from that day to this. "

In the cold season, the tiffin-table had to be enlarged for the indigo planters, and for the Captains of the old Indiamen that still doubled the Cape—always welcome—the latter contributing delicacies in the shape of turtle, etc.

Such a tiffin-table would not be seen now, indeed could have no place in these times of keen competition. It belonged to the grand old days before the Suez Canal iron vessels, the Telegraph to Europe, and weekly Mail *via* Bombay. The recollection of it recalls many pleasant memories long since forgotten; and of fine times while they lasted, when one was young and frisky, with no prospect of gout before his eyes.







# Lola Montez.

## THE STORY OF A FAIR PENITENT.

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Were not the sinful Mary's tears  
An offering worthy Heaven  
When o'er the faults of former years  
She wept, and was forgiven ?

—Thomas Moore.

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OF all Anglo-Indian heroines far and away the most adventurous was Marie Dolores Eliza Rosanna Gilbert, better known by her stage-name of Lola Montez. Born at Limerick, in 1818, she was the daughter of Ensign Edward Gilbert, of the 44th Foot, who married Miss Oliver, a lady of Spanish descent, and died of cholera at Dinapore. Very shortly after, on August 16, 1824,\* his widow re-married, at Dacca, Lieutenant Patrick Craigie, who was subsequently Deputy Adjutant-General at Simla, and died, also at Dinapore, on October 8, 1843. To the same family, which was well known in Bengal, both in the Civil Service and the Army, many years ago, belongs Mr. Reginald Walpole Craigie, husband of the lamented novelist, "John Oliver Hobbes."

Marie was sent to Scotland for her education under the care of Craigie's relatives. In order, it is said, to avoid a marriage with old Sir Abraham Lumley, she made a runaway one with Lieutenant Thomas James, of the 21st B.N.I., who brought her back to India in 1839. They stayed at Simla with the Craigies, and also at Kurnal, where the regiment was quartered. At the hill-station she is described as looking "like a star among all the others," her beauty making every other lady with any pretensions thereto quite jealous! She soon came to be patronised by Lord Auckland's sister, the Hon. Miss Emily Eden, for in the latter's book, *Up the Country*, she writes kindly of "little Mrs. J." whom she had presented with a pink silk gown. Major Craigie had also given his step-daughter something more substantial in the shape of a cheque for £1,000. She returned to England alone in 1842, and, in consequence of an acquaintance she had formed during the voyage, her husband obtained a divorce. Next she took to studying the dramatic art as well as dancing and, after a short visit to Spain, made her *début* at Her Majesty's Theatre in 1843 as "Lola Montez, the Spanish Dancer." Her success was

\* Hence the statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Ensign Gilbert died in 1839 would appear to be incorrect.

wonderful, and the tour she made on the Continent became a series of triumphs. At Paris, however, her intimacy with M. Dujarier, editor of *La Presse*, led to his being killed in a duel with Beauvallon, and at the trial which followed among those who gave evidence were herself and the elder Dumas. At St. Petersburg she was warmly received and handsomely treated by the Emperor Nicholas of Russia. But her greatest triumphs were yet to follow. When she danced at Munich in 1847 she completely captivated the old King Ludwig, of Bavaria. His Majesty created her successively Baronne de Rosenthal and Comtesse de Lansfield; built her a superb palace, and allowed her a queenly pension. Practically it was she who ruled the Kingdom of Bavaria, and she is said to have ruled it well. But on account of her favouring a student party an insurrection took place and, it is added, that by the influence of the Austrians and the Jesuits, the king was forced to abdicate, while she was banished from Bavaria. Returning once more to England, she married a young Cornet named G. T. Heald, but, on being prosecuted by his guardian for bigamy (it appears the rule absolute in her divorce proceedings had not been formally granted), she fled with him to Spain. Heald had already sold out his commission and, not long after, was accidentally drowned at Lisbon.

In the course of a most characteristic letter written in Lola's bold hand before leaving England, she declares that "what makes men and women is individuality, for which I will conquer or die!" Subsequently she went on to America as a *danseuse* and actress, and there in 1853 married Mr. P. P. Hull, proprietor of the *San Francisco Whig*. While playing at Melbourne, in 1856, she horsewhipped Mr. Seekamp, editor of the *Ballarat Times*, for libelling her. After a bewildering series of fresh adventures (including a personal encounter with the wife of the lessee of a theatre where she was engaged) she re-appeared in America, this time in the rôle of a public lecturer on the "Art of Beauty" and similar subjects. About this time, however, she fell in with a serious-minded person who had been her schoolmate at Melrose, to wit, Mrs. Buchanan, described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as the "wife of the well-known florist." This was the turning-point of her life, for that lady began to exert a good influence over her. Lola devoted the remainder of her life to visiting the outcasts of her own sex at the Magdalen Asylum near New York. While thus redeeming the past, she was stricken with paralysis, and passed away on January 17, 1861, aged 43,—we are told "sincerely penitent." She is buried in the Greenwood Cemetery, New York.

It remains to be added that many of the above particulars are reproduced from an article (by the present writer) headed "Fair Anglo-Indiennes" which appeared in the *Englishman* some time last year. The old pen-and-ink sketch has been kindly placed at our disposal by Miss Perry of Barrackpore.

E. W. M.

# A Calcutta Benefactress.



**I**N a country like India, where custom delegates the female to a secondary position, if not indeed to the rigid seclusion of the zenana, it is somewhat remarkable to find so many names handed down to posterity of women who have helped to form its history or have taken a part in its administration.

But of the many women of India who have been celebrated, few have had so romantic a career as Ziebool Nissa, better known as the Begum Sumroo. She became famous before the English had conquered Bengal, and died after, a life of many vicissitudes, honored and revered by Europeans and Natives alike, as recently as the year 1836.

The Begum Sumroo was the woman for whose hand European rivals contested; who became first the wife of an uncultured, illiterate German adventurer and then the spouse of an educated French gentleman. She was the woman to whom thirty European officers at one time swore allegiance and vowed "in the name of God and His Majesty Christ that they would henceforward obey her with all their hearts and souls and recognize no other person whomsoever as their commander." It was Begum Sumroo who was once termed "the most beloved daughter of the Emperor" and at another time was held a prisoner despised and set at naught by her own troops. It was the Begum Sumroo to whom Lord Bentinck wrote, on the very eve of his departure for Europe, in terms of affection and admiration. It was the Begum Sumroo who, when kissed in a moment of exuberance by no less a person than Lord Lake, diverted the horror and dismay of her followers by explaining, with ready presence of mind, that it was "merely the salute of a padre to his daughter." She was the woman who once overawed a turbulent army by an act of terrible retribution, and then having gained a reputation for kindhearted benevolence ultimately secured everlasting affection by a series of munificent charities.

Whether, as some say, Ziebool Nissa was by birth a Squadanee, or lineal descendant of Mahomet, or whether, as others tell us, her parentage is unknown and that in early life she was a mere nautch girl, must remain a matter for conjecture, but there is at least some evidence to indicate that she was a daughter of a certain Lutiff Ali Khan, a nobleman of Arabian origin, who lived in Delhi when Shah Alum sat on the Moghul throne as Emperor of Hindustan.

Born about the year 1750 she was probably not more than seventeen years of age when married "by all the forms considered necessary by persons

of her persuasion when united to men of another" to the notorious renegade Walter Reinhardt.

This man, by some accounts, was a native of Treves in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, and by other accounts came from Salzberg in the Bavarian Tyrol. Be this as it may, Reinhardt entered India as a private soldier and was at one time in the French East India Company. When Clive seized Chandernagore, in 1757, Reinhardt entered the service of the Nawab of Bengal, where he was known as Sumroo, a native corruption of "Le Sombre," a soubriquet given him by his French comrades on account of his swarthy complexion, the sombre cast of his countenance and sullen temper. Subsequently, he found his way to Delhi, honored and revered by the natives, hated by the English. The latter described him in words which may be read to this day on the monument erected at Patna to the memory of the victims of the massacre of 1763 as "Walter Reinhardt *alias* Sumroo, a base renegade." In the Memoirs of George Thomas, compiled by William Francklin, we are told that Nawab Nujuff Khan, Prime Minister to the King of Delhi, "allotted Sirdhana and its dependency to Sumroo, a German well known to the English by the share he bore in the dreadful catastrophe of Patna." The massacre at Patna occurred in October 1763 and it was after this date that Sumroo married Ziebool Nissa, but he did not long survive, and, on his death in 1778, Nujuff Khan delivered over the pergunnah to his widow, then known as the Begum.

It is interesting to note here the contrast between the description of Reinhardt on the Patna monument and the inscription in Persian on his own tombstone in Agra. For the description and copy of this latter, given below, I am indebted to Mr. J. F. Fanthome, retired Deputy Collector.

"The tomb is situated in the old Roman Catholic Cemetery. It is a handsome octagon building surmounted by a low dome rising out of a cornice. The inscription, which is in Portuguese, has been carved in an oblong dip in the slab. You read it standing with your face to the East, while the Persian inscription has to be read standing with the face to the North.

"I give the inscription exactly as it occurs :—

A Q V I I A Z  
O W A L T  
E R R E I N H A  
R D M O R R  
E O A O S 4  
D E M A Y O  
N O A N N O  
D E 1778

That is, Aqvi laz O Walter Reinhardt Morreo Aos 4 de Mayo No Anno de 1778. (Here lies Walter Reinhardt who died on the 4th of May 1778).

"The Persian inscription is as follows :—

نور عمر و صاحب آن سرکرده نیکو سرشت      سینه آفاق را بر آتش حسرت برشت  
 سال تابش ز لهر لب صیحا بر فلک      باد صبح گفت از پی گل باغ بهشت  
 ۱۷۷۸

The above is the Persian Epitaph transcribed in *Nast'liq*. May I give a free translation of it here :—

'The death of Sumroo Sábah—that leader of virtuous dispositions—the bosom of the universe did with the fire of sorrow roast. From the date of the Messiah's ascension to the Heavens, the Zephyr declared the date of his death. From the perfume of the flower of the Garden of Paradise 1778.'

"NOTE.—But the date as evolved from the last five words (five in Persian, but eleven in the translation) is wrong ; as it works out to 1786 and not 1778.

"J. F. F."

As already indicated comparatively little is known of the Begum's early days. She has been described as "small in stature but inclined to be plump. Her complexion is very fair, her eyes black, large and animated, her dress perfectly Hindustani and of the most costly materials. She speaks the Persian and Hindustani languages with fluency and in her conversation is engaging, sensible and spirited." To the *Memoirs of George Thomas* we are also indebted for a glimpse of her life at Sardhana. We are told :—

"The habitation of Begum Sumroo is in a large and spacious enclosure, equal in many respects to a fortified town. The house is well built and handsomely furnished, partly after the European and partly after the Hindustani style ; these blended together have a singular though not upon the whole an unpleasant appearance. Hospitable in her manner the Begum's table is furnished with everything the country can afford. European articles of all kinds are procured from Calcutta.

"It has been the constant and invariable usage of this lady to exact from her subjects and servants the most rigid attention to the customs of Hindustan. She is never seen out of doors or in her public durbar unveiled.

"Her officers and others who have business with her present themselves opposite the place where she sits. The front of her apartments is furnished with *chicques*, or Indian screens, these being let down from



the roof. In this manner she gives audience and transacts business of all kinds. She frequently admits to her table the higher ranks of her European officers, but never admits the natives to come within the enclosure. On dinner being announced, twenty or thirty of her female attendants, most of them Christians, repairing to the outer door, there receive the dishes and place them upon the table; they wait on the company during the repast, which is always plentiful and well served."

It was not until three years after the death of her husband, Sumroo, that, the Begum embraced Christianity; she was baptised Joanna in the Roman Catholic Church at Agra by the Rev. Father Gregario, a Carmelite monk, on May 7, 1781, and twelve years afterwards was married by the same priest to an officer in her service named Le Vassoult, or as he is alternatively called "Le Vaisseau" or "Levasso," but we are anticipating.

Immediately following the death of Sumroo, the Begum took command of the force her husband had raised, a force that consisted of about four battalions of native troops officered by Europeans,—Europeans, it is true, who have been described as "the very dross of society—men who could neither read nor write nor keep themselves sober." Still in those days of perpetual struggle and internecine warfare the numerous armies of different native chiefs were largely dependent on European leaders—adventurers for the most part, sometimes renegades from the French or English forces, sometimes gentlemen of fortune, who preferred a soldier's life of continual excitement under a native ruler to a trader's existence in an English factory. The fabulous tales of Bernier or the mere spirit of adventure had attracted some, while others had found it expedient to fly from the flag under whose protection they had entered India and to earn fame or be lost to the world in the service of a Foreign Potentate.

Among those who entered the service of the Begum after her husband's death were two men of very different calibre—one was the celebrated George Thomas, who, having come to India as a quartermaster, or, as some say, a common sailor in a British ship of war in 1781, ultimately raised himself to a principality in Northern India. Thomas arrived in Delhi about the year 1787, received a commission in the service of the Begum Sumroo, and we are told in his *Memoirs* that soon after his arrival, the Begum, "with her usual judgment and discrimination of character advanced him to a command in her army;" he was in fact for some time her chief adviser and counsellor.

The other was Le Vassoult, a French gentleman of birth, education, gentlemanly deportment and honourable feelings, of whose previous history very little is known. The two became rivals, and, in the end, George Thomas had the mortification of finding himself supplanted in the good opinion of the Begum, for Vassoult, thinking this the best means of obtaining a complete

ascendancy over his rival, proposed marriage to the Begum and was accepted. On this George Thomas betook himself to the frontier station of the British army and, after waiting a few months, was offered service by a Mahratta Chief, while the Begum and Le Vaissoult were secretly married.

The circumstances leading up to the death of Le Vaissoult a few years afterwards are related in various ways by different historians. Archer \* tells us that the Frenchman contemplated a return to Europe and that the Begum at first assented. The plan agreed upon was that all the valuables in the shape of jewels and money were to be collected with great secrecy and that the two were to mount elephants in the dead of night and escape to British territory ; but says Archer :—

“ The Begum had also her own project and a daring and subtle one it was. She had the wit to know that in any other country she would soon cease to be in her husband's eye an object of regard, rather, perhaps, one of forgetfulness, if not of active violence. She naturally supposed that the Frenchman cared for her money alone, and would appropriate it to his own peculiar use. With a refinement in hypocrisy she assented to all his plans, but privately laid her own in a manner that could not fail, in some way, to fulfil her expectations. She gave orders to her own immediate attendants to communicate in privacy with the soldiery the part which her husband intended to pursue and to express to them how much that purpose was at variance with her own inclinations, which were wholly inseparable from the presence and happiness of her people. Upon this a scheme of ambush was so prepared that the Frenchman had no means of escape, even admitting he had seen the artifice by which his life fell a sacrifice. The Begum communicated to him her false fears of detection and pointed out the dishonour that must attach itself to their act of desertion and for her own part vehemently protested that she would die by her own hand rather than be compelled to return by force. She never would consent to be removed from her husband. The silly man entered into a compact with her to destroy himself in the event of being overtaken and interrupted in their design ; for this desperate purpose they provided themselves with pistols, and at the dead of night he mounted his elephant and she got into her palankeen. At the appointed spot the ambush was ready and all things answered the Begum's intentions, the opposing party soon made the escort of the Begum and her husband fly. The attendants ran to inform him that the Begum had shot herself. In the noise and confusion many matchlocks had been let off so that he could not tell if her

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\* *Tours in India.* Major Archer.

having been molested was probable or not. On rushing to her palan-keen to ascertain the truth he was alarmed by the clamour and apparent affliction of those who surrounded it, and upon a towel saturated with blood having been shown him, as confirmation of the Begum's having destroyed herself, he placed a pistol to his head and shot himself."

Such was the account of Major Archer—very different in many respects is that given us by Sleeman.\* According to his account the Begum, owing to a semi-mutiny on the part of her soldiers, determined to go off with her husband and seek an asylum with the British. When all had been arranged certain of the troops got news of their intentions and marched to seize the Begum and her husband.

"Le Vassoult heard of their approach and urged the Begum to set out with him at midnight declaring that he would rather destroy himself than submit to the personal indignities which he knew would be heaped upon him by the infuriated ruffians who were coming to seize them. The Begum consented declaring that she would put an end to herself with her own hand should she be taken. She got into her palankeen with a dagger in her hand, and as he had seen her determined resolution and proud spirit before exerted on many trying occasions, he doubted not that she would do what she declared she would. He mounted his horse and rode by the side of her palankeen with a pair of pistols in his holsters and a good sword by his side. They had got on so far as Kabree, about three miles from Sirdhana on the road to Meerut, when they found the battalions from Sirdhana who had got information of the flight, gaining fast upon the palankeen. Le Vaissoult asked the Begum whether she remained firm in her resolve to die rather than submit to the indignities that threatened them. 'Yes,' replied she, showing him the dagger firmly grasped in her right hand. He drew a pistol from his holster without saying anything but urged on the bearers. He could have easily galloped off and saved himself, but he would not quit his wife's side. At last the soldiers came up close behind him. The female attendants of the Begum began to scream; and looking in, Le Vassoult saw the white cloth that covered the Begum's breast stained with blood. She had stabbed herself, but the dagger had stuck against one of the bones of her chest and she had not courage to repeat the blow. Her husband put his pistol to his temple and fired. The ball passed through his head and he fell dead on the ground."

One other version of the affair may here be quoted, it is taken from the *Memoirs of George Thomas*. He says that the Begum's troops had

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\* *Ramble Recollections of an Indian Official*, by Col Sleeman.

broken out into open mutiny owing to "Levasso" having degraded an officer in the Begum's corps named Legols, who for many years had held command, and invited a son of the late Sumroo, by a former wife, to become their leader. The flight was assented to by the Begum, but a party of cavalry overtook them.

"In the confusion that arose and before any resolution could be taken, some shots were fired, and a few men slightly wounded. The soldiers perceiving they had nothing to hope from the Begum (who, they knew, only wished to get away with her effects) openly declared themselves for Sumroo's son. The infantry then surrounding the palankeen demanded her to surrender; the cavalry at the same time surrounded her husband, who was on horseback. The Begum at that instant drew a poniard from her side and running the point of it across her breast drew a little blood, but with no intention of killing herself. Her attendants calling for assistance, Levasso hearing the tumult demanded to know what had happened. He was answered that the Begum had killed herself; twice he put the same question and receiving the same answer, with great deliberation he put a pistol to his mouth, shot himself, and immediately fell from his horse."

In these varying accounts we have one point at least on which all are agreed—Le Vassault did not kill himself until he believed the Begum had first died. Whether she had actually tried to put an end to her life, but had not "the courage to repeat the blow," or whether her action was mere pretence from the very outset, is hard to say, but this much is proved, he at least preferred death to dishonour while she lived to fight another day.

Of the real character of the Begum Sumroo we have but little beyond the most conflicting testimony—nothing to throw a full light on her nature; we have in fact merely sidelights, and those connected with the episode of Le Vassault's death tend to show that above everything she possessed the nature of an Oriental.

Without going so far as to say that duplicity is a tendency in the Asiatic character, it may be said that there are few who will deny that a dual personality is often more apparent among Eastern individuals than among the people of the West. To take one illustration only. The Nana Saheb was, up to the last moment before the outbreak of the Mutiny, the professed friend of the English, but in an instant became their most implacable foe; we prefer to believe that his was a duplex nature rather than to think that a change so sudden could have been due to events over which he had no control. We prefer to think that he answered to Macaulay's description of Machiavelli rather than to believe that a person, without such duality, could be capable of acting one day as the friend and host of our

countrymen, only to become their murderer the next, even though from the outset he may have been a traitor at heart.

"The whole man," says Macaulay writing of Machiavelli, "seems to be an enigma, a grotesque assemblage of incongruous qualities, selfishness and generosity, cruelty and benevolence, abject villainy and romantic heroism." Such a description might be applied to many Eastern characters but to few Western. We have indeed had to go to Italy to find an analogy of our theory, but in the East we ourselves have seen over and over again the antithesis of what might have been expected; we have realized in many ways that the unlooked-for is always happening, that the land and its people are an everlasting surprise. We have found a timid Bengali Babu capable of performing one of the bravest acts of gallantry, under circumstances repugnant to his nature, opposed to his caste principles and contrary to his inbred scruples, if not indeed to his religious belief. We refer to the man known as "The Bengali Hero," Babu Nuffer Chunder Coondoo,—let the name be always remembered,—who in May 1907 lost his life in Calcutta in descending a drain to rescue an asphyxiated coolie. Many other illustrations could be given, but enough has been said to prove that in the East it is not infrequent to find a blend of all that is opposite and incongruous. So it was with the Begum Sumroo: kind and benevolent she combined, with a woman's heart, the stern discipline of an autocrat, and, possessing a masculine determination was not to be denied when once a resolve had been made. We need give only one more instance of the Begum's character, and, though there are several variations of the story, we select the one which seems the most authentic and give it in the words of Sleeman:—

"News was one day brought to her that two slave girls had set fire to her houses at Agra, in order that they might make off with their paramours, two soldiers of the guard she had left in charge. These houses had thatched roofs, and contained all her valuables, and the widows, wives and children of her principal officers. The fire had been put out with much difficulty, and great loss of property; and the two slave girls were soon after discovered in the bazaar at Agra, and brought out to the Begum's camp. She had the affair investigated in the usual summary form; and their guilt being proved to the satisfaction of all present, she had them flogged till they were senseless, and then thrown into a pit dug in front of her tent for the purpose and buried alive. I had heard this story related in different ways, and I now took pains to ascertain the truth and this short narration may, I believe, be relied upon. An old Persian merchant, called the Aga, still resided at Sirdhana, to whom I knew that one of the slave girls belonged. I visited him, and he told me, that his father had been on intimate terms with

Sombre and when he died his mother went to live with his widow, the Begum; that his slave girl was one of the two, that his mother at first protested against her being taken off to the camp, but became, on enquiry, satisfied of her guilt, and that the Begum's object was to make a strong impression upon the turbulent spirit of her troops by a severe example. 'In this object,' said the old Aga 'she entirely succeeded; and for some years after her orders were implicitly obeyed, had she faltered on that occasion, she must have lost the command—she would have lost that respect, without which it would have been impossible for her to retain it a month' It should be recollected, that among natives there is no particular mode of execution prescribed for those who are condemned to die, nor, in a camp like this, any court of justice save that of the commander, in which they could be tried, and, supposing the guilt to have been established, as it is said to have been to the satisfaction of the Begum and the principal officers who were all Europeans and Christians, perhaps the punishment was not much greater than the crime deserved and the occasion demanded. But it is possible that the slave girls may not have set fire to the buildings, but merely availed themselves of the occasion of the fire, to run off: indeed, slave girls are under so little restraint in India, that it would be hardly worth while for them to burn down a house to get out. I am satisfied that the Begum believed them guilty; and that the punishment, horrible as it was, was merited. It certainly had the desired effect. My object has been to ascertain the truth in this case, and to state it, and not to eulogise or defend the old Begum."

As nearly all contemporary writers refer to the Begum Sumroo, so also does Bishop Heber, but it is unfortunate that little reliance can be placed on his account of her. After relating a doubtful version of the story of the slave girls who had offended her, the Bishop says: "This woman calls herself a Christian of the Roman Catholic Faith which was that of her husband Summers ('Sumroo' is the Hindustanee pronunciation of the German surname)." Such ignorance of the derivation of the name "Sumroo" is alone enough to show how little the worthy Bishop's knowledge extended, and we discard entirely his story of the slave girls; it is in contrast to Sleeman's account and bears the stamp of being merely repeated rumour.

Yet, in discarding Bishop Heber's account of this revolting incident, we can say little more in defence of the Begum's character than that the manners and customs of the times in which she lived were of a very different standard to present ideas; we would add also that, although we are aware that she has been described as "unforgiving, relentless, deceitful, liberal where

self-interest required it and courteous too often, merely to hide enmity,"\* still she possessed many points in her favour. We cannot forget that, among those who had opportunities of knowing her intimately, she unquestionably bore the character of being a kindhearted, benevolent and good woman. That stern buccaneer, George Thomas, though spurned and driven from her service, never lost his devotion to her, and when after the death of Le Vaissoult the Begum was taken back to Sirdhana, a prisoner of her own troops, "kept under a gun for seven days, deprived of all kinds of food save what she got by stealth from her female servants and subjected to all manner of insults,"† it was George Thomas who came to her rescue; it was due to his influence that she was reinstated in authority. Would Thomas have done this for a woman who possessed no good points? We doubt it much. Rather, we think, would he have usurped her authority, as indeed he could easily have done at the time. It was he who induced her mutinous European officers to swear allegiance to her; his was the influence that placed her once more in favour. Sleeman gives the following romantic description of this incident:—

"A counsel of war was held, the Begum was taken out from under the gun, and reinstated upon her *musnud*. A paper was drawn up by about thirty European officers, of whom only one, Monsieur Saleur, could sign his own name, swearing, in the name of God and Jesus Christ‡, that they would henceforward obey her with all their hearts and souls, and recognize no other person whomsoever as commander. They all affixed their seals to this covenant; but some of them, to show their superior learning, put their initials, or what they used as such, for some of these learned Thebans knew only two or three letters of the alphabet, which they put down, though they happened not to be their real initials. An officer on the part of Scindeea, who was to have commanded these troops, was present at this reinstallation of the Begum, and glad to take, as a compensation for his disappointment, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, which the Begum contrived to borrow for him."

Enough has been said of this remarkable woman to illustrate a few of the more romantic episodes of her varied career; to record them all or to attempt to quote from the many authors who allude to her doings would

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\* *The Good Old Days of John Company.*

† Sleeman.

‡ "The paper was written by a Mahomedan, and he would not write Christ the Son of God—it is written 'In the name of God and His Majesty Christ.' The Mahomedans look upon Christ as the greatest of prophets before Mahomed; but the most binding article of their faith is this from the Koran, which they repeat every day: 'I believe in God who was never begot, nor has ever begotten nor will ever have an equal;' alluding to the Christians' belief in the Trinity."

unduly lengthen this sketch. Suffice to say that she lived through years of anarchy and died the firm friend of the English by whose side she had fought at the battle of Assaye; if her charities can be set against her misdeeds, the scale must weigh strongly in her favour. The Begun Sumroo was undoubtedly one of the most notable women of India and many are still indebted to her beneficency. Among other bequests she built an excellent church at Sirdhana, and assigned the sum of one hundred thousand rupees as a fund to provide for its service and repairs, fifty thousand rupees as a fund for the poor of the place; and one hundred thousand for a college in which Roman Catholic priests might be educated for the benefit of India generally. She sent to Rome one hundred and fifty thousand rupees to be employed as a charity fund, at the discretion of the Pope; and to the Archbishop of Canterbury she sent fifty thousand for the same purpose. She gave to the Bishop of Calcutta one hundred thousand rupees for the support of candidates for Holy Orders and clergymen in his diocese unconnected with the Government or religious societies. She sent to Calcutta for distribution to the poor and for the liberation of deserving debtors, fifty thousand. To the Roman Catholic Missions at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras she gave one hundred thousand and to that of Agra thirty thousand. Her original will is now in Calcutta and her charities are largely administered from this City.

G. H





# The First Hospitals in Calcutta.



ON page 73 of the first number of *BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT* the Editor gives a short account of the building of the old blocks of the Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta, by Rev. J. Z. Kiernander, a fact, which was unknown to the authoress of *Calcutta Past and Present*, and is not mentioned by Buckland in his *Dictionary of Indian*

*Biography*.

It would be of interest, therefore to reproduce from the pages of the *Indian Medical Gazette* two articles on the early hospitals of Calcutta which formed the annual historical articles in the January number of that Journal. For some years past an historical article has regularly appeared in the New Year number of that Journal, chiefly contributed by Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford, I.M.S., of Hughli. In January 1903 besides the article already alluded to by the late Major D. M. Moir, I.M.S., there were two others on the subject of early Calcutta Hospitals, one by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson and another by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, I.M.S. We may give brief extracts from these for the benefit of the readers of *BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT*.

Dr. Wilson wrote : The first hospital in Calcutta was situated in what is now called Garstin's Place, the present Foreign Office is built on what was probably part of the hospital compound, close by was the burial ground of St. John's Church. West of the hospital and extending as far as the modern Hare Street was a large tank. The main building was about 175 feet long and 60 feet wide. It had at first no upper storey. This hospital was erected in 1707 for the benefit of the Company's soldiers and sailors. In 1710 the hospital was walled round and barracks erected for the soldiers to live in, Curiously enough (in view of the amounts now contributed for the building and upkeep of hospitals in India by Government) the E. I. Co. only gave Rs. 2,000 to build this hospital, the rest of the money was raised by public subscription. A reference to page 2 of the *Indian Medical Gazette* (January 1903) will show a plan of old Fort William and part of the city in 1753, showing the site of the old hospital. This plan was drawn by Wm. Wells, Lieutenant of Artillery, in 1753. The same plan shows the house of Holwell (or rather two houses with his name attached) and of others, also the site of the church, the hospital and the circular powder magazine all near "the burying place." Another interesting point connected with this old hospital is that the "hospital regulations" were signed by the famous Dr. William Hamilton, and in the article we quote from, Dr. Wilson has given

a facsimile of his signature (which, by the by, is nearly as badly written as that of Shakespeare). This hospital was surveyed and repaired in 1730, at a cost of Rs. 1,020-7-6, and in 1736 a couple of upper rooms were added for the habitation of the resident doctor.

A still fuller account of this old hospital and its working is given in Colonel Crawford's article in the same issue of the *Indian Medical Gazette* (p. 4, 5, etc.) Dr. Wilson wrote that "apparently this hospital was destroyed at the taking of Calcutta in 1756 by Siraj-ud-daulah." After the recovery of Calcutta by the British a temporary building was erected inside the Fort, and this or some other building in Calcutta, called the hospital, was valued at Rs. 12,000 in the Proceedings of October 8, 1757. The accounts quoted by Dr. Wilson and Colonel Crawford show that this new hospital was badly managed and money was but scantily supplied for its upkeep and for the food, etc., of the patients.

As soon as it was determined to build a new Fort William it was also decided to build another hospital, the old one "not having the benefit of a free and open air." This would make the *third* Calcutta hospital.

It was to be built as a "temporary hospital" near "Surman's Gardens," that is Kidderpore. I cannot find out if this temporary hospital in Surman's Gardens was ever built or occupied, or whether the scheme ended in the building of the Presidency General Hospital by Kiernander, as the ground of that institution were purchased from Kiernander in 1768, whose "garden-house" was there situated.

I therefore make out four old Calcutta hospitals, *viz.*—

1. The first in what is now Garstin's Place and close to the site of the present Foreign Office, probably destroyed in the siege of Calcutta, 1756.
2. The second, a temporary building inside old Fort William.
3. The "temporary hospital," near Surman's Gardens (if ever built and occupied).
4. The Presidency General Hospital, on the site of the new fine hospital, (part of which is still under reconstruction) built by Rev. J. Z. Kiernander on the site of his own "garden-house" sold by him to Government in 1768.

The above hospitals were intended for the Company's officers, troops and servants, European and native. Colonel Crawford also refers (*loc-cit*) to "a general hospital for natives not in the service of Government" mentioned in the year 1792, this hospital would be the precursor of the present Medical College Hospital. In 1814 a lying-in hospital was started in Park Street. In 1787 a hospital for inoculation was started at Dum Dum and in 1803 we read of vaccination being performed free "at the Native Hospital in Dhormtolla" probably built in 1794. Calcutta took kindly to vaccination against

smallpox and sent a testimonial and £4,000, sterling, as a present to Dr. Jenner, an eloquent testimony to the great prevalence of smallpox in those days.

For the above notes I am entirely indebted to the papers by Dr. Wilson, Major Moir and Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford in the *Indian Medical Gazette* of January 1903.

W. J. BUCHANAN, B.A., M.D.,

*Calcutta, September 1907.*

*Editor, Indian Medical Gazette.*











THE ACHILLE EXPEDITION  
THE COURT OF THE COUNTESS TIMELY



THE ACHILLE EXPEDITION  
"COMING ALONG SIDE"

# Some Transactions of the Calcutta Historical Society.



THE first number of *BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT* contained a full report of the inaugural Meeting in the Town Hall on April 27, and it is now proposed to briefly chronicle other events of interest both leading up and subsequent to that gathering. Before doing so, however, it should be remarked that among those unavoidably absent on that occasion, whose names were omitted from the report, were the Maharaj Kumar Sir Prodyat Tagore, the Hon. Mr. Justice Stephen, and Messrs. W. Corfield, J. G. Cumming, W. Dillon, F. C. T. Halliday, Hurri Nath De, Henry Newman and P. S. Ryan.

There is little doubt but that the need for an associated body of local historians and antiquaries had long been obvious to many, but the ultimate cause of our coming into being is to be found in the following advertisement published in the local newspapers at intervals during several weeks of the earlier months of this year.

## NOTICE.

Demolition of Graves in the Park Street Cemetery. The Christian Burial Board hereby give notice that they propose to demolish the pyramidal grave which bears no name and which is in a dangerous condition in the above Cemetery.

Anyone desiring to restore it will please communicate with the undersigned.

B. B. SHAH,

*Secretary.*

This sombre little reminder of the fleeting nature of human affairs began, after a few weeks, to get monotonous, but the first indication that anyone attached serious importance to it is to be found in an article in the *Englishman*, of February 18, above the initials "R. D.," pointing out that the threatened tomb was that of Mrs. Barwell ("the celebrated Miss Sanderson"), and urging the necessity for its restoration and preservation. Mr. J. de Grey Downing followed on the 20th strongly re-urging the same view, and making the occasion the opportunity for suggesting the formation of an Historical Society for Calcutta and the compilation of an authoritative history of the city. He was followed the next day by "W. C." and "Antiquarian," the former being the first to suggest the publication of a periodical journal, and on the 22nd Mr. Dunbar publicly offered himself as provisional secretary of the movement.



On the 25th Mr. J. de Grey Downing again forcibly championed the starting of a Society, and the matter was crystalized by the issuing of a circular by Messrs. Corfield and de Grey Downing, Dunbar, E. W. Madge and Luke, the favourable response to which justified the calling of the inaugural Town Hall Meeting.

Several meetings, both of the Council and the Executive Committee, have since been held either in the Town Hall or in the vestry of St. John's Church (itself a most interesting museum of portraits, views, and relics of by-gone Calcutta), while at a General Meeting, held in the rooms of the Asiatic Society on June 22 the Rules, mainly drawn up by Mr. W. J. Simmons, were passed, subsequently to which registration, under Act XXI of 1860, was effected. The Society is greatly indebted to the custodians of the several rooms in which its meetings have been held for lending them free of charge.

In launching the first number of BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT an omission of importance was made in the fact that Mr. F. C. Scallan had kindly designed the very artistic cover, having by an accident been left unrecorded. That so capable an artist is to be found in our ranks is a matter for sincere congratulation.

It is also a matter for congratulation to note that, as the result of the Society's action, Mrs. Barwell's tomb has since been restored by the Government of Bengal, who have officially invited the Society to suggest a suitable inscription to be placed upon it.

The Society's River Excursions have been as follows:—

Friday, June 21, 1907 (a public holiday).—To Achipur per S.S. *Howrah*.

Saturday, July 13, 1907.—To Serampur per S.S. *Jainti*.

Saturday, July 27, 1907.—To Hooghly and Bandel per S.S. *Bejoya*.

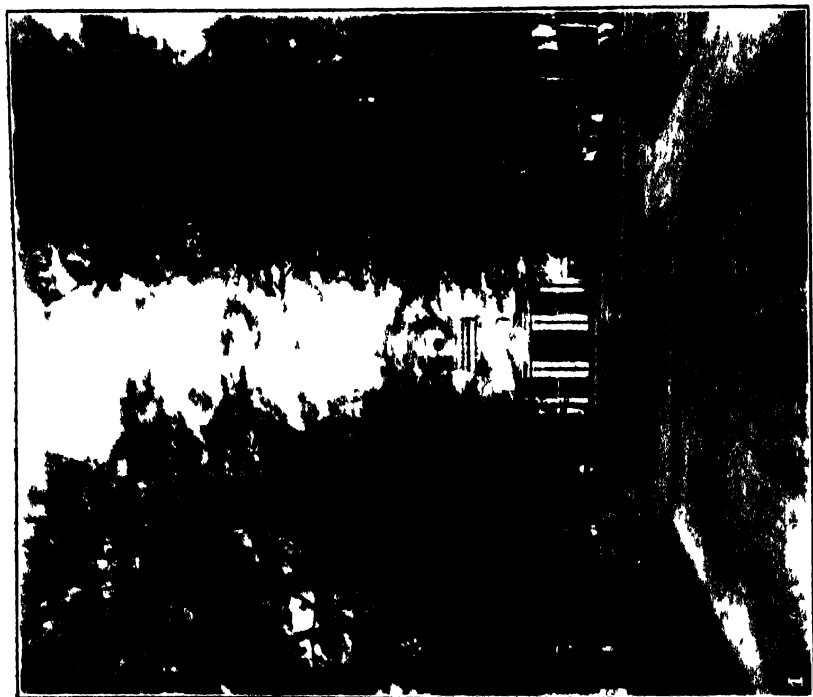
On the first occasion the steamer was kindly lent by the Port Commissioners, and on each occasion the weather proved favourable. The "above Bridge" parties had the advantage of the use of a River Guide, specially compiled by the Rev. W. K. Firminger. The Achipur photographs, published in this number from the *Empress*, have been very kindly lent for the purpose by A. J. Parker, Esq. The refreshments were provided (1) by Messrs. Kellner & Co. and (2 and 3) by the Palace Hotel Co.

•The first excursion was planned and advertised for Serampur, but for tidal reasons a change in the arrangements became necessary and the steamer proceeded to Achipur with Captain Petley in command. The landing party (including several ladies) were carried ashore, shoulder high, from the boats. A jungle path led to an abandoned residence formerly occupied by the Collector of the 24-Parganas, and it was noticed that some of the floors were paved with *Chinese* marble. A Chinese temple, still used as a place of worship on certain occasions, was visited and proved highly interesting.









THE SPEAKER BUILDING  
 4 GRANT OF WILLIAM CARPENTERS' MOUNTAIN CENTER, THE OLD CHURCH SPAN  
 FACILITY, WALTER D. P. H. J.

The horse-shoe tomb of its founder, who conducted a sugar business in the days of Warren Hastings and was evidently an enterprising man, was then inspected, and a return to the steamer made.

An Order of the Governor-General-in-Council, dated July 16, 1801, required all commanders of vessels proceeding to Calcutta to land at the Achipur magazine all the gunpowder they carried "exceeding the quantity of one hundred pounds, which quantity every vessel is permitted to retain on board for the purpose of firing salutes, or signals in case of distress." When again outward bound the powder so deposited was allowed to be retaken on board. These precautions were considered necessary "as the explosion of a large quantity of gunpowder on board of ships lying off the town might be attended with the most destructive consequences to the town, to the inhabitants thereof and to the shipping in the Port." Severe penalties were prescribed for the infringement of the Regulations.

On the way to Achipur, Oolooberia (where the canal to Midnapur begins) was passed and (nearer town) Budge Budge, where the remains of the Fort taken by Clive in 1857 are still traceable.

The Serampur party passed Sulkea, described as the "Southwark of Calcutta;" Ghusori, the residence of "Old Stalkart;" Chitpur, with its one-time dread reputation; Bally; Cossipore, the residence of Sir Robert Chambers; Uttarpara; Barnagore with its "twelve apostles;" Dakhineswar, where the Chitpur Nabobs are said to have hunted tigers some 120 years ago; Agarpara, the "island of Aryans," with its famous Mission House; Konnagur with Mr. Fitze's quaint Tudoresque mansion of red brick; Khardah with its fortified "robber castle;" Rishra, where Warren Hastings had an estate; Mohesh and, finally, Tittaghur, once the site of a busy dockyard and its famous Thug house.

On landing at Serampur the party proceeded to the Missionary College, where the Principal, the Rev. Mr. Howells, kindly showed them round the famous library of the early Baptists, of absorbing interest. Notable amongst the exhibits were the famous portrait for long believed to be that of Madam Grand; the Carey, Marshman and Ward relics in the shape of translations of the Bible, their chairs and the little pulpit. From here the party proceeded to the house of Dr. Carey and thence to Aldeen House, the residence of "Patriarch" Brown. Here the Rev. W. K. Firminger gave an interesting lecture on the evangelical chaplain and his great colleague, Henry Martyn. This was followed by a visit to the "Pagoda" whither Martyn resorted to avoid the intrusive inquisitiveness of his servants during devotions—a place whose varied history is unrivalled among sacred edifices—first a Hindu temple, then the habitation of a Christian minister, then a rum distillery, and, finally, the property of a water-works company. Afterwards the old

Danish Church of St. Olaf (see photograph) was inspected, and time, with his customary want of consideration, having outstripped the programme, the cemeteries had to be left unvisited and a return made to the boat.

The Bandel excursionists visited the church (see photograph)—a stone in the doorway is dated 1599, but there was a previous original building; the tower was ascended and a statue of the Madonna and the Holy Child met with in a niche on the way up. Every November the place is the resort of pilgrims in celebration of the Novena of *Our Lady of a Prosperous Voyage*.

Hamilton, in the Eighteenth Century, gives this place, as most others, a bad name as a centre of evil-doing.

At Hooghly the fine Imambara was visited, Chinsurah being reserved for a future occasion.

The great cantilever railway-bridge spanning the river below Bandel was much admired.

On Tuesday, August 6, the Society's first *Conversazione* was held in the Dalhousie Institute, and Mr. J. de Grey Downing has been congratulated on his unsparing efforts (as Secretary) which made the evening both memorable and enjoyable. The acting Chief Justice, the Hon'ble Mr. Rampini, was present and there was a good attendance, which would probably have been larger had it not been for the counter-attraction of a Concert at the General Hospital earlier the same day. The programme was as follows:—

PIANOFORTE SOLO ... Miss Corfield.

Lieder Ohne Worte No. 21—*Mendelssohn*.

LECTURE ... Mr. W. C. Madge.  
"SOME GREAT INDIAN WOMEN."

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#### INTERVAL FOR REFRESHMENTS.

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PIANOFORTE SOLO ... Miss Corfield.

Study in D flat, Op. 46. No. 29—*Heller*.

RECITATION ... Rev. W. K. Firminger.  
"Mr. Simms of Calcutta."

SONG ... Mrs. LePatourel.  
"Melisande in the Wood."

(Accompanist—Madame Arnold (L'Orchestre du Conservatoire.)

VIOLIN SOLO ... Mon. Edger (L'Orchestre du Conservatoire.)

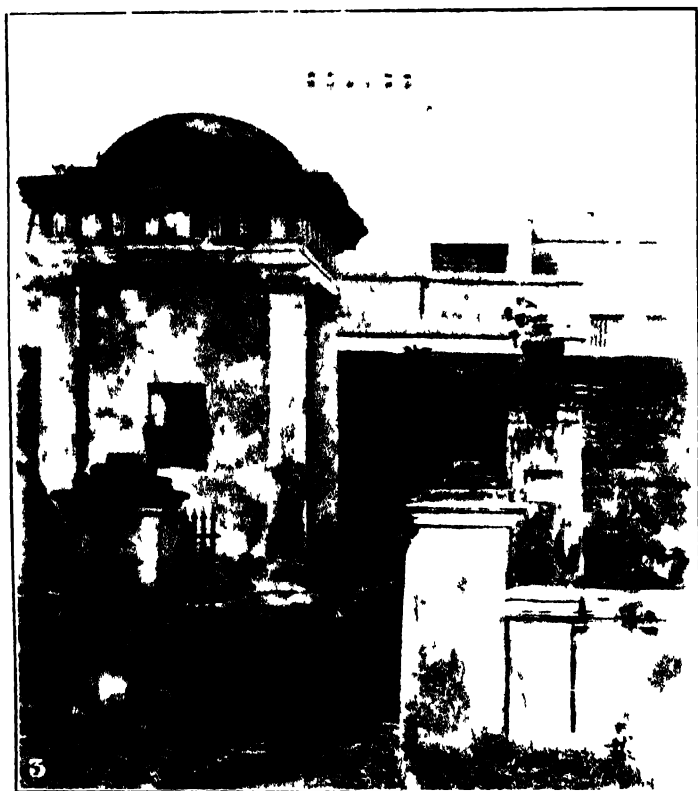
(a) Tyrolienne... *D. Alard*.

(b) Chanson Polonaise ... *Wieniawsky*.

On Friday, August 9, a visit to the High Court was made, the party being received and entertained by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rampini (acting Chief Justice) and the other Justices who are members of the Society. The







2 THE MISSION CEMETERY, SEKAMEUK 5 THE CATH. ENGLISH MISSION CEMETERY

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courts, statues, and portraits were inspected and documents relating to the "Grand-Francis" and other celebrated cases examined. Many (including several ladies) ascended the tower and were rewarded (it being a very fine evening) by a magnificent view of the surrounding country.

W. C.



# Leaves from the Editor's Note Book



JOB CHARNOCK died on January 10, 1693. Two years before his death the authorities at Madras had informed the Company in England of the forlorn condition of their servants at "Chuttanautee." "And the truth is," runs a general letter from Fort St. George (dated May 25, 1691), "they live in a wild unsettled condition at Chuttanautee, neither fortified houses nor goedowns, only tents, hutts and boats with the strange charge of near 100 soldiers, gaurd ship, etc., for little or noe business."\* Now tradition has it that old Job, before his death, had acquired possession of the *pucca samindari kachari* or office of the hereditary zemindars of Calcutta, the Mazumdar, and that here, prior to Charnock's death, the Company's official staff and records were lodged. I accepted this tradition with too little scruple or diffidence when I was writing my *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*.† Dr. Wilson's two volumes on *Old Fort William in Bengal* were published a few months after my book was already in print, and I, therefore, had not the opportunity of testing the old tradition by the records which Dr. Wilson was publishing.

According to tradition, which is best represented by Mr. A. K. Ráy ‡ in his admirable *Short History of Calcutta*, Job Charnock bequeathed to his successors something of the nature of an enclosed factory. Following Mr. Ráy, the amiable Mr. H. E. A. Cotton writes: "The only conspicuous masonry buildings he [Charnock] acquired, in addition to the 'Portuguese Mass House,' which was destroyed after his death, was the kachary of the Mozumdar family who were the local jagirdars: and here were lodged the Company's official staff and the records."§ Again, in reference to Antony Bagan Lane, Mr. Cotton writes that the name "commemorates the famous 'Antony Sahib,' agent of 'the proprietor of Calcutta' in the days of Charnock, by whom tradition has it, he was horse-whipped. The tank in the centre of our Dalhousie Square was then within the enclosure of the Zemindar's Cutcherry. Vidhyadhur Roy Chowdry, the senior member of the Mazumdar family, in whose Jagir the 'three villages' lay, had allowed the English to acquire his own Zemindari Cutcherry building for the protection of their records; but the worship of the Hindoo god

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\* Wilson: *Old Fort William in Bengal*, Vol. I., p. 8.

† *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*, pp. 9-10.

‡ *Census of India*, Vol. VII., Pt. I.

§ Cotton: *Calcutta: Old and New*, p. 11. In what sense did Charnock "acquire the Portuguese Mass House"? Mr. Cotton writes "Mozumdar" on p. 11 and "Masumdar" p. 363.

Govind or Sham Roy (who had given his name to Govindpore and Shambazar) was still celebrated within the enclosure as of old, in spite of the removal of the image to Kalighat. Portuguese Antony's offence lay in his endeavouring to prevent some English factors from entering the enclosure during the *Holi* festival of the god. After the assault he went and took up his abode in his master's house at Kanchrapara, where the sites of Antony Sahib's building and *hdi* are still known. His grandson, also known as 'Antony Sahib,' was famous throughout Bengal, says Mr. A. K. Ráy, as the best 'Kabiwallah' or minstrel of his time."\*

ONE would welcome this tradition for the reason that it would go to prove that old Job was not quite so lethargic in his latter days as his enemies first, and tradition after, would have had it. But had Mr. Cotton availed himself of the opportunity, which was his, of consulting Dr. Wilson's posthumous volumes, he would not have accepted tradition quite so blindly. In the first place the English settlement was not enclosed in Charnock's day: the enclosure was made by Sir John Goldsborough some months after Job's death, and it did not include the tank in "our Dalhousie Square." Sir John writes October 20, 1693:—

"When I came hither I found the Agent and Councill had been Remiss in not marking out a place whereon to build a factorie on, if we should hereafter be Libertized to settle here, and by that omission of theirs noebody knew where or how to build, but every one built straglinly where and how they pleased even on the most properest place for a factorie, and have dug holes and tanks that will cost the Company money to fill up agen, and the longer this Run The worss would be the Evill, Therefore I thought fitt to order the inclosing a peece of ground with a Mud wall whereon to build a factorie when we have a parwanna for it, which I meen to goe in hand to inclose in a day or two, this is all I know of this Matter further upon Mr. Walshes house bought for the Company I intend to build above staires upon the 2 Tarresses, 4 Rooms or Chambers, that I may bring in the Accomptant and Secretairie and the bookes and papers in their Charge within the brick house which now Ly scattering about in thachd houses Lyable to the hazzard of fire every day."†

FROM this extract it is clear that:—

1. The books and papers were not in safe repository at a pucoo masonry cutcherry when Job passed to sleep with his fathers.

\* *Ibid* p. 363-364. At what date, it may be asked, was the Govindpore idol removed to Kalighat?

† Wilson: *Old Fort William*, Vol. I., pp. 13-14, and *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. II., p. xciv.

2. There was no inclosed factory at the time of Charnock's death.
3. But a certain Mr. Walsh—probably he who with the Khwajah Sarhad (Cojah Surhaud) was so successful in dealing with the Prince Azimu-sh-Shan—had a house sufficiently strong to support a second storey. But neither the records nor the official staff inhabited this house in Job Charnock's day.

WHATEVER was within the compound lying between the river and the historical tank and inclosed by Sir J. Goldsborough, the house in which Charnock and his successor, Ellis, lived was at a considerable distance from the factory. This is shown by an extract from the *Chutanutte Diary and Consultations* (April 8, 1695) given by Dr. Wilson (Vol. I, p. 18):—"The House which Agent Charnock formerly liv'd and lately Mr. Ellis, being of thatch was by an accident burnt down one night : and order'd to be rebuilt by the Charges Generall Keeper Mr. Cormell, and to be cover'd with brick for security, but the charge exceeding what we expected (it amounting to 400 and odd Rupees), and being a considerable distance from the ffactory, and inconvenient for the Company's Servants for that reason Mr. Cormell was order'd to dispose of it by outcry, which was accordingly done for 575 rupees..." Apparently Charles Eyre, Charnock's son-in-law, who was placed by Sir John Goldsborough in the room of Ellis (who for a term succeeded Charnock as Agent), moved into the factory. Charnock's house was burned down on the night of December 18th "thro the peons making a large fire under a thatch't wall adjoining." On March 11, 1694 the *Diary* complains of inconveniences arising "from the Right Honourable Company's ffactors and writers having lodgings out of the Right Honourable Company's Factory or compound which their Agent lives in ; and these thatch't lodgings being yearly blown down with the southerly storms which causes often repairs ; besides they are not at the call or under the Eye of the Agent, as youth ought to be." It was, therefore, decided that "half a dozen Chambers of brick and mudd be built on the Northside of the Compound for them to live in ; and that the Charges Generall Keeper gets them finished before the Rainy season comes in." \*

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IN the last number, I noticed a pamphlet entitled a *History of the Savana Family of Brahmins*. On page 7 of this useful little treatise I read : "In 1652 Dr. Boughton procured from Sha Suja, Governor of Bengal, letters patent granting the English permission to trade in Bengal without payment of customs or dues." Mr. Cotton writes : "Gabriel Boughton, who obtained for his countrymen the privilege of free trade, died at Rajmahal, whither he

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\* Wilson : *Op. Cit.* Vol. I, p. 17.

had gone to tend one of the ladies of Shah Sujah's seraglio; but neither tomb nor tombstone mark his resting-place in the cemetery of that ancient capital of the Prince Governors." The tradition is a very ancient one; Sir Henry Yule, in his note on "The Early History of the Company's Settlements in Bengal," quotes "a M.S. discourse by J. B. a Captain of a Company's Ship, who was in India c. 1670-1680," and in this document Boughton appears as "Gabriel Bowden (one of our own nation)" but the story is full of inconsistencies. In a footnote on pp. 27-28 of Vol. I, Pt. I, of his *English in Bengal*, Dr. Wilson has demonstrated "that it is very doubtful whether Boughton ever secured any grant at all for the English."

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THE pamphlet on the history of the Savana family gives Mr. Irvine's translation of the Deed of Purchase, or "Bai namah," of the Three Towns—a document preserved at the British Museum. The author reprints this from Mr. A. K. Ráy's *Short History of Calcutta*, and Mr. Ráy was indebted for its use to Dr. Wilson, who has incorporated it in his *Old Fort William in Bengal*. Dr. Wilson challenges Mr. A. K. Ráy's theory of the transaction between the English and the Savana family (or Majumdars) as "opposed at once to Mahomedan revenue theory and to recorded facts." Dr. Wilson holds that the English only gave the Majumdars the sum of Rs. 1,300 for the sake of peace and quiet, and that, had the Majumdars any real legal and permanent claims to Zemindari rights, so small a sum of Rs. 1,300 would not have been accepted by them. The question is one which can only be settled by students conversant with the law of land revenue in Bengal. Mr. Cotton is a trained lawyer, and that is probably the explanation of his hesitancy to tackle so difficult a problem as the legal basis of the Company's rights in the "three towns." "Angels (and therefore lawyers) won't rush in," etc. Yet in a book, which claims to rise from the level of a mere publisher's guide to that of a history, the question of rights at law should not have been ignored.

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IN the matter of the famous palisades, Mr. Cotton follows the usually safe guidance of Archdeacon Hyde. Dr. Wilson, writing nearly six years ago, has demonstrated that the Archdeacon, in his *Parish of Bengal*, ante-dated the erection of the palisades by seven years at least.

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• MY conjecture, that the old Fort at Shamnagar is Lady Amherst's "fine remnant of the Tudor-Pathan style," seems to be correct, for as a correspondent reminds me of the existence of a "village called *Cowgachi* lying to the East of the old Shamnagar Gur." (See *Bengal Past and Present*, p. 70.)

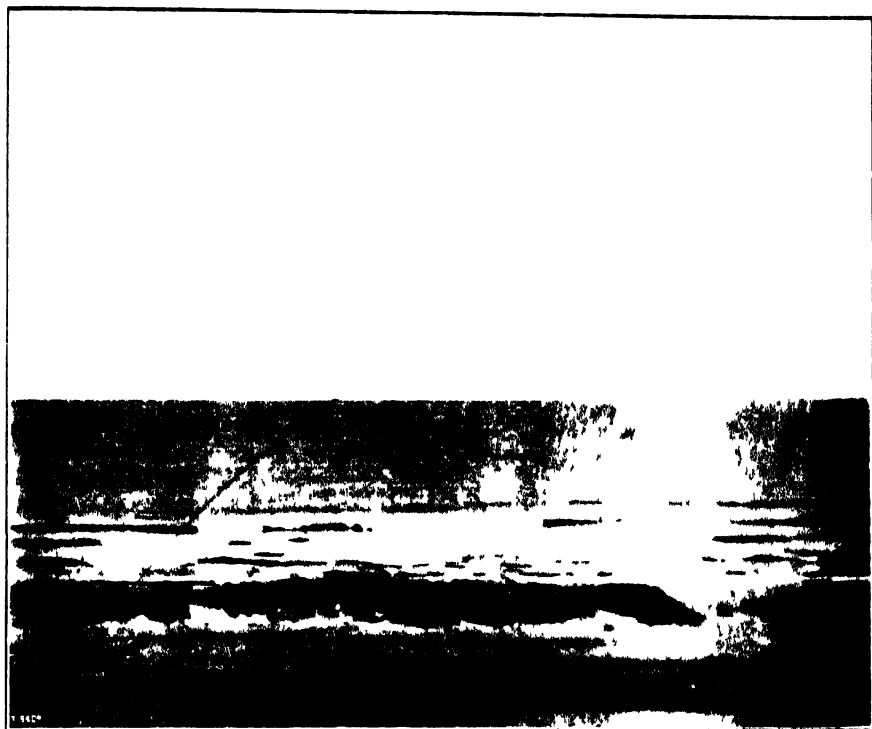
By the courtesy of Mr. W. H. Phelps, I hope to reproduce, in our next issue, an excellent photograph of the old Episcopal Palace, No. 5, Russell Street. The house was alluded to in the brief notice of John French and James Pattle in our last number. In a postscript (p. 29), I mentioned a Mr. Edward Pattle, who arrived in India some months before Charnock's death and who died in Calcutta on March 3, 1715. But, between Edward Pattle and James, there is a Thomas Pattle whom Warren Hastings, in 1774, recommended for the Council at Dacca. The Pattles, I understand, were connected with the Chichele Plowdens, and it would be deeply interesting if we could secure a family tree.

"THE name of Calcutta taken from a neighbouring shrine was identified by our mariners with Golgotha, 'the place of skulls.'" So wrote Sir William Hunter in his *Thackerays in India*.<sup>\*</sup> I have been asked to explain why, in my *Guide to Calcutta*, I have said "this is a picturesque error on Sir W. Hunter's part." In the first place, as every one now knows, the name of our city is not derived from Kalighat, but that was not my point. Golgot was the name given to the spot at Hughli where the English built their factory. Sir Henry Yule has shown that this name was confused with that of Calcutta: thus Luiller (in 1702) calls Calcutta Golgontha, and Sonnerat (in 1782) writes: *Les Anglais prononcent et écrivent Golgota*. The Portuguese seem to have called the place the English called Golgot by the name Golin or Ugolyn. The name Gholghat is still well known to natives of Hughli and is identified with a spot about the middle of the town of Chinsurah. The word has no connection with the sacred "Golgotha" but simply commemorates a little whirlpool.

After the last note had gone to the press, as luck will always have it, it flashed upon my memory that in the very article by Dr. Wilson, reprinted in the present number, there is a reference to "the road that comes from Golgaut." Dr. Wilson, on p. 159, Vol. I, of his *Old Fort William*, truly says: "Gholghat is not known in modern Calcutta." I am inclined to think that "the road that comes from Golgaut" is simply the Chitpur-Chowringhee Road, which would bring the pilgrim from Hughli to the sanctuary at Kalighat. A good deal about "Gholeghat," as a division of Hughli, may be read in Babu S. C. Dey's excellent *Hooghly Past and Present*.

It is fairly well known that the residence of the Curator of the Botanical Gardens occupies the site of an old "Moorish" fortress taken by Job Charnock in 1686 and destroyed by Clive and Watson in 1757. Streynsham Master writes in 1676:—"In Tannah stands an old ffort of mud walls, wh. was built to prevent ye incursions of ye Arracaners, for it seems about ten or twelve

<sup>\*</sup> Where he also has a fantastic rendering of Uluberia as the "Place of Owls."



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TEMPLE AT CON'S BAZAR.

years since that they were so bold that none durst inhabit lower down the river than this place, the Arracaners usually taking the people of the shoares to sell them at Tiple." On the opposite side of the river, at Mutiabruj, there was a corresponding fortress, and in 1760 we find the English throwing a chain across the river to bar out the wild Magh pirates. But now *nous avons change tout cela*, and instead of seeking to keep the Maghs from visiting us, it is we who are going to spend the next holiday in making a better acquaintance of these now very well disposed persons.

As this Journal is devoted to the interests not only of "Bengal Past" but also of "Bengal Present," I make no apology for saying that an attractively got-up pamphlet on the merits of Cox's Bazaar as a watering-place for jaded members of our Society is a matter on which we may well congratulate ourselves. The only English dramatist of the last century, who can be held to have attained to Sheridan's excellence, has made one of his creations say "Experience! That's for me the instinct of life: for you it is the name you give your mistakes." Experience, as a name for our mistakes, has taught not a few of us that a mad rush up to a cold and rainy hill station and a plunge down again into the boiling plains is not the ideal way of setting a man up for work. No, we must turn to the Retriever Flotilla Company (c/o Messrs. Turner Morrison & Co.) and charter the good ship *Mallard* to take our Society on a prolonged but enjoyable trip to Chittagong—the place the old Company urged Job to occupy in preference to Calcutta and a place which should be beloved by us, if only for the sake of Sir William Jones' predilection for it, and onwards to the shelving beach of Cox's Bazaar, and the picturesque reaches of the Naaf River. We must honour the Mugs with a return of their calls.

Who are the Maghs or Muggs or Mugs? "A dirty and disgusting people, but strong and skillful," says one authority. This may or may not be so; but there is some reason for supposing that, if, in bygone days, the Mugs were dreaded by the Calcutta folk as cruel and reckless dacoits, they have in more recent and more peaceful times devoted themselves to the pleasanter and more welcome branch of the oriental thieves' profession and become commendable cooks. "Your vegetable curry was excellent. Of course your cook is a Mug," wrote Sir G. O. Trevelyan in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1866. To this it may be added that the Retriever Flotilla Company promise us pomfret, oysters, hilsa, salt-water prawns, crabs, bekti, fowls, ducks and vegetables in abundance. "The inhabitants," they assure us, "are very civil." But who, once again, are these delightful people? Sir A. Phayre, in a note contributed to *Hobson Jobson*, tells us that "there is good reason to conclude that the name is derived from Maga, the name of the ruling race for many centuries in Magadha (modern Behar). The kings of Arracan were no doubt

originally of this race. For though this is not distinctly expressed in the histories of Arracan, there are several legends of kings from Benares reigning in that country, and one regarding a Brahman who marries a native princess, and whose descendants reign for a long period." Another theory as to the name of the Maghs is that it is derived from a Persian word *magh*=magus; the Mahomedans having confused the Buddhists with fire worshippers. Buchanan, just a century ago, pointed out that "the term Mugg is never used by the people of themselves or by the Hindus, except when speaking the jargon commonly called Hindustani by the Europeans."

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To return to the Tanna Fort. John Thornton's map of "the Bay of Bengal" (1675), reproduced in the third volume of Sir H. Yule's Edition of *Hedges' Diary*, shows us clearly Sumatra Point, then a little lower down the river Great Tanna, then Tanna Fort, and, some four or five miles lower still, the Little Tanna. Now, although the origin of the Tannas is ascribed to defensive measures against the Arracanese or the Maghs, it seems to me that they may also date back to a time when there was an alternative river route to the Hughli by which vessels might make their way up to that once "reasonable fair city," Satgaon—the Portuguese Porto Piqueno—, just above Bandel. Triveni Ghat above, to the north of Hughli town, is one of the places which our Society proposes to visit, and here three rivers are, according to Hindu tradition, held to unite—the Ganges, the unseen Sarasvati, and the Jamuna. The Sarasvati seems to be the "Bussundree" River of Van der Brocke's map, which, I must confess, I have never seen. It would seem that this river, flowing to the west of Howrah, once left Triveni and rejoined the Hughli at Uluberia and, at a later date, at Sankral. The "upper creek," to the north of the Little Tanna, represents an outlet of the lost Sarasvati. My friend Mr. La Touche, of the Geological Service, has recently been entrusted with a manuscript of Kennel's, and he may, perhaps, be able to throw some further light on these mysteries. Mr. R. J. Barlow, in his notes to *Hedges' Diary*, writes:—"The Upper creek was traditionally supposed to have been the highway when Satganj was the terminus of navigation, but it is the merest rivulet imaginable now." Mr. Barlow wrote these words about twenty years or more ago. Has the Sarasvati entirely disappeared? It is clearly marked on some modern maps, but that fact counts for nothing.

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WHILE I am on the subject of the mysterious Sarasvati River, I should like to place on record here the following passage from an article (by J. H. Marshman?) in Vol. VI. of the *Calcutta Review* (pp. 402-403): "We begin with the Saraswati Khal, which flows by Triveni down to Satgaon, and which in former days was a mighty stream, when the Baghirathi, instead of



BUDDHIST PAGODAS IN THE MARH COUNTRY



flowing as now past Hughli, rolled its mighty waters down by Satgaon. Rennel states: 'In 1566, the Satgang river was capable of bearing small vessels and I suspect that its then course, after passing Satgang, was by way of Adampur-Omptah and Tamluk: and that the river called the Old Ganges was a part of its course and received that name, while the circumstance of the change was fresh in the memory of the people. The appearance of the country between Satgang and Tamluk countenances such an opinion.' The banks of the Saraswati at Tribeni formed the ancient boundary of the kingdom of Orissa, extending as far west as Bisenpur in the time of the Ganga Vansa princess from the 10th to the 14th century A.D. Akbar annexed Tribeni to the Bengal Government and separated it from the powerful kingdom of Orissa or Kalinga, which flourished at the same period as the Ujjain and Malwa monarchies, and was next to Magadha in greatness, stretching from the Godavery towards the Ganges; the King of Kalinga in Pliny's time could bring into the field 100,000 foot; at the beginning of the Christian era Salivahan ruled the country between the Godavery and the Nermada. 'By progress of emigration and conquest the Orissa nation carried their name and language over the vast space of territory, including, besides Orissa Proper, part of Bengal and Telingana.' In 1243, the Rajah of Jaigpur, 35 miles N.E. of Katak, besieged Gaur, the Capital of Bengal. The Orissan monarchy sunk into decay about the same time that the Saraswati river, owing to a silting process, dried up; in 1845 an inundation tore up the soil in the bed of the river near Satgaon and exposed to view the masts of a ship. In Rennel's maps, drawn 70 years ago, the Saraswati joins a river which flows by Duma, Nisipur and Chanditala into the Hooghly at Sankral near Bishop's College: this was probably the old bed of the Baghirathi, which then passed from Sankral up to the site of Tolly's Nala, then *via* Gurea, Baripur and Rajganj to Diamond Harbour, and so on to Ganga Sagar; the ground west of Hara (Howrah) is low and marshy indicating the course of a former river. Ptolemy, however, states that the Saraswati flowed into the mouth of the Jellasure river, this view coincides with that of Rennel's, and may be reconciled with ours by supposing that a branch from the Saraswati, *i.e.*, Ganges, to have joined the Damuda or Rupnarayan."

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THE Tanna Fort played a prominent part in the events of 1756-1757. It was then no longer a mere mud affair, but a formidable fortress. When Suraj-ud-daula had once made up his mind to "extirpate" the British in Bengal, his first thought was to occupy the fort of Muckwa Tanna, and so both cut off the retreat of the English, and prevent reinforcements coming up the river. And on the other side, our forefathers considered a plan of retreat from Fort William to Fort Tanna: they, in fact, commenced



hostilities by an attack on the Tanna Fort, which they captured, but were neither able to hold, nor to dismantle. Not a trace of this old fortress remains, but there is a wealth of material for its history, which might, perhaps, be adequately dealt with in our pages on some future occasion.

By the courtesy of the Editor of the *Statesman*, we have been permitted to reprint here an exceedingly interesting letter communicated to that newspaper by Mr. H. E. A. Cotton. There is some apparent confusion in the records as to Lushington's participation in the sufferings of the victims of the Black Hole. Mr. S. C. Hill, in his masterly introduction to his *Bengal in 1756-1757* (Vol. I., p. LXXXII), would lead one to suppose that Lushington and Cooke joined the ships off Surman's Garden on the afternoon of June 20, in which case they would have escaped the horrors of the terrible night. Indeed a letter of date December 15, 1756 (quoted by Mr. Hill, Vol. III and pt. III, p. 7) has it that "Mr. Lushington, a writer, got on board the ship after the Fort was taken." But Henry Lushington most certainly suffered in the Black Hole. Holwell's letter to William Davis (Hill, Vol. III., p. 133 et seq) shows the miserable expedients to which the poor man was put in order to slake his thirst, and it was Lushington who on the morning of the 21st picked out Holwell's exhausted but still living body from under the heap of the dead and brought him to the window. After the survivors were brought forth from the torture chamber, Cooke and Lushington were allowed to depart, and towards night they reached the ships lying off Budge-Budge. The passage in Mr. Hill's preface is scarcely perplexing for Mr. Hill shows us everywhere else that Lushington was indeed confined in the Black Hole.

It is, perhaps, hardly fair to Lushington's memory to say that he "forged the fictitious treaty by which Omichand was duped." The responsibility for the false treaty must lie with Lord Clive, and whatever may be said of the morality of the transaction, the nature of Omichand's manoeuvres should not be left out of sight. All that can be said of Lushington's part in the matter is that he and John Walsh went from the French Gardens (between Champdani and Chandernagore, "where the army then lay") to Calcutta, taking both the authentic treaty and the *lall coggedge*. Admiral Watson refused to sign with his own hand the *lall coggedge*, but allowed Lushington to sign for him.

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A CORRESPONDENT writes to ask us if we can supply any information as to Governor John Beard, whose name was mentioned in Dr. Wilson's article in our last issue. He is naturally interested as this Calcutta worthy is of his own kith and kin. But the difficulty is that there are two John Beards, both of

whom are well known to students of Bengal history, and we are not quite certain which of these two gentlemen our correspondent is related to. There is first of all the John Beard, who succeeded Hedges as agent in 1684, who died at Hughli on August 28, 1685 "crushed beneath the load of anxiety and responsibility which he had rashly taken upon him, but was quite unable to support." Then there is the Governor, President John Beard, who laid down the main lines of Old Fort William. As to the latter, our correspondent will find much informing matter in the first volume of Dr. Wilson's *English in Bengal* and in his alas! posthumous *Old Fort William*.

THE following letter, which appeared in the *Statesman*, contains some facts which should be kept on record here :—

SIR,—Readers of *Echoes from Old Calcutta* will remember that, according to Dr. Busteed's informant, Mrs. Carey, the country-born wife of Peter Carey, Mariner, was "buried in the Murgihatta (Roman Catholic Cathedral) churchyard" (1801). In confirmation of this statement it may interest some of your readers to know that both the announcement of her death and the entry of her burial have now been traced. The following, from the *Calcutta Gazette* of April 2, 1801, is not included in Seton-Karr's "Selections" :—"Death—On Saturday last (March 28). Mrs. Carey." In the Cathedral burial register the entry, which is in Portuguese, runs as follows :—"28 Marco de 1801. Faliceo Maria Carry (*sic*) foy serno adro de Igreja com accompanhamto: de 1 Padre." The foregoing may be freely translated thus :—"28th March 1801. Died Mary Carey; was buried in the churchyard, with the accompaniment of one priest." This does not give her age at the time of her death. It was 60 years, for she was but 16 when she entered the Black Hole. There is no inscription over her grave. I am greatly indebted to the courtesy of the Cathedral authorities who kindly permitted me to search their registers, favouring me with a copy of the entry. They even indicated the place where Mrs. Carey is believed to have been buried, to Mr. Dunbar, the energetic Secretary to the new Calcutta Historical Society, and myself. About the exact spot there may be some difference of opinion, but in any case a tablet should be placed in the adjacent wall. Might I venture to suggest this to the Historical Society?

*Calcutta, May 2.*

FITZWALTER.

Our readers will remember that Mary Carey was the lady who survived the Black Hole disaster. Holwell was under the impression that her beauty cost her dear, and Macaulay has it that Mrs. Carey was packed off to Suraj-ud-Daulat's harem. Dr. Busteed has shown that the poor lady was spared so sorrowful a lot.

I MUST plead guilty to a very culpable blunder in my article "Our Work" in the last number. I described Lady Dalhousie as dying in her husband's presence during their return voyage to England. I warned the reader that my article had been written with the very greatest haste and I craved a charitable acceptance. In the present matter, I placed an unwarranted reliance on my poor "Bengal Memory." Lady Dalhousie, as a matter of fact, went home in 1853, and she died of exhaustion after sea sickness almost within sight of England on the 6th of May. Lord Dalhousie himself went home in 1856. I have not Sir Lee Warner's book by me to refer to, but Sir William Hunter, in his volume on the great Proconsul in the *Rulers of India Series*, has told us all that need be said of a subject so personal and sacred as that of Lord Dalhousie's anguish when the news of his wife's death was communicated to him by his kinsman and military secretary, Major James Ramsay.

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A WORD of thanks on my part is due to the skilful artist who so generously designed the cover of our journal. The reader should notice that there is more symbolism in the design than meets the eye at once. The open volume, for instance, has its pages on one side ragged, and from the decaying roses the petals are fast falling; on the other side, the pages are freshly cut, and the rose blossoms are in full bloom. Beneath this open page is the pen which is to record the history that has yet to be made. At the top is depicted the old Fort Willam, at the foot the modern Dalhousie Square. If we have not been quite happy in our choice of a colour for the cover that was no fault of the artist who furnished the design.

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RUMOUR has it that Aldeen House is soon to disappear in order to make room for an extension of the Howrah Water Works. We trust that so great a calamity may be averted and that this interesting monument of the past may be spared for many years to come. In our Society there are not a few members of wealth and influence: might not they be asked to set on foot a movement to secure Aldeen House as a Rest House, Museum, and Library for the Society? In our January number we propose to give some account of the house, and of the distinguished men who, about one hundred years ago, found a home there.

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THE thanks of the Society are due to its Vice-President, Raja Benoy Krishna Deb, Bahadur, C.I.E., who has kindly presented to the Society copies, both in English and Bengali, of his admirable work on the past history of our City, in the making of which his family has played so honourable a part, and also a copy of the *Memoirs of Maharaja Nubhissen Bahadur*, a work of

most praiseworthy research and in itself one of the best proofs of Lord Curzon's assertion: "I have found that the Indian intellect possesses a remarkable aptitude for historical, antiquarian or topographical research" The possession of these books only goes to prove the need we have of a permanent home for their preservation—a place where the members of our Society can make the fullest use of our small but gradually accumulating wealth of material.

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MAJOR BUCHANAN, in his interesting note on the "First Hospitals in Calcutta," writes:—"Colonel Crawford also refers to a General Hospital for natives not in the service of Government mentioned in the year 1792: this hospital would be the precursor of the present Medical College Hospital." I have not had the privilege of seeing Colonel Crawford's article, but I think I am right in saying that the native hospital here referred to was undoubtedly the precursor of the present Mayo Hospital. I must content myself with referring the enquirer to the following books:—

Hyde: *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 224, 226.

Carey: *The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company*, Vol. 1, p. 429.

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I OWE Mr. C. E. Buckland an apology for my failure to notice that his *Dictionary of Indian Biography* does not profess to go back beyond the year 1750. Mr. Buckland very truly observes in his preface: "A complete and full Biographical Dictionary for India could only be undertaken, and might well be undertaken, by Government agency, or under a financial guarantee of the cost of production." No one who has laboured in the field of Anglo-Indian research could for a moment hesitate to acquiesce in what Mr. Buckland has to say in his preface as to the difficulties which the compiler of such a handbook, as in his *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, has to contend with. Without an intelligent appreciation of those difficulties, and perhaps, I may say, without some personal experience of them in one's own work, it is surely an impertinence for any one to undertake the task of criticism. Omissions in Mr. Buckland's lists of worthies were to be anticipated, and it is most probable that not a few of those omissions were due, not to the Editor's short-sightedness, but either to the ignorance of the present owners of historical names on the score of their more worthy predecessors, or to their sloth, or their reluctance, in satisfying courteous requests for information. But, despite all such difficulties, Mr. Buckland has given us a book which cannot be regarded as aught else than a lasting endowment of research.

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WE have it on the authority of Alice herself that, for some little time after the *Cheshire Cat's* departure, the smile of that superb animal remained

behind. In my *Guide*, I have called attention to the quaint fact that the steeple of Chinsurah Church was erected in the year 1744 and that the Church itself did not come into existence until 1763. This is very much as if the smile came first and the cat last. Chinsurah Church has no steeple at the present day : it disappeared in that very cyclone Mr. de Gray Downing has so interestingly described in these pages. The cat now has to get on without the smile.

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IN regard to our expeditions. The difficulty is to fix on suitable days. If the expedition is to go up beyond the Howrah Bridge and the party is to be a big one, then practically we have to hire one of the India General Steam Navigation river flat steamers. This costs the Society about Rs. 100 for the day, and it is obvious, therefore, unless we can secure larger parties than those which went with us to either Serampore or Bandel, the very modest charges we make for the expeditions do not cover the Society's expenses. No doubt more would have come with us if the days fixed upon had been general and not merely Government holidays ; but even so general holidays are generally well ear-marked by old standing engagements or for visits to the hills, Puri, etc., etc. And if the party is to be a small one, by what principle can the numbers be limited ?

IN regard to the proposed expedition to Tamruk—the principal Port of Bengal in Buddhist days,—I ventured to sound the Director-General of Archæology as to whether he could depute one of his staff of experts to accompany us on this pilgrimage. He replied in very kind terms that, owing to the absence of Dr. Block on leave in Europe, this was at present impossible, and added : “ I am especially sorry for this because I believe with you that such co-operation as you suggest between your Society and the Archæological Department would result in much mutual advantage, and I hope it may be arranged at some future time.” It would not be money lost if the Society were to prepare itself to spend a little on this expedition, for after all while Chinsurah, Serampur and Bandel are within easy reach and some of us have visited these places over and over again, Tamruk would be new ground even for those of us who can claim some intimate knowledge of Bengal. It is indeed not impossible that a pilgrimage, made in co-operation with the Archæological Department, might evoke an interest which would, in turn, lead to excavations being undertaken. If we are to visit Tamruk, I am, therefore, afraid that we shall have to go to the expense of hiring a river flat steamer, on which the pilgrims would have to sleep the night on board. A Society which pays for the printing of my contributions, “ written in opium on tablets of lead,” cannot be accused of

being wholly devoted to the lighter and more amusing side of the story of BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT ; and I, therefore, venture to risk the suggestion that some two hundred rupees spent on the Tamluk Expedition would carry further the aims of this Society than have done our perfectly delightful visits to the old Danish, Dutch and Portuguese settlements. The Tamluk Expedition spells business.

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WITH the present number I conclude the first volume of BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT. I do so in order to give the Executive Committee the opportunity of judging whether or no the Society's organ should be continued in its present size and shape and whether it should be a monthly rather than a quarterly. There are so many persons to whose aid I am deeply indebted for such success as has been attained, that I am afraid were I to attempt to mention even the most important I should still be guilty of serious omissions. No member of the Society will, of course, need to be thanked for his work, but still I must express my gratitude to Mr. Willmot Corfield, who kindly occupied the Editor's chair while I sped in search of renewed health on a trip to Rangoon and Moulmein, and who has made himself responsible for the indexing of the present volume. To Miss Perry, of Barrackpore, we are indebted for the use of some valuable sketches, and we shall be drawing still further on her kindness in our next issue. Our acknowledgments are due to the Proprietors of the *Empire* and the *Empress* newspapers, to the Retriever Flotilla Company, to Mr. James Wyness, to Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. (and their skilful artist Mr. Rose), to Messrs. Bourne & Shepherd for the use either of the photo-type blocks or of photographs. My friend Mr. John Hart has very kindly assisted me with the proof reading. I myself would add a word of special acknowledgment of the ready courtesy and excellence of our printers ; and, in doing so, I would take on my shoulders all blame that is due on the score of errors in orthography]

WALTER K. FIRMINER, R.D.




# A Review and some Remarks.

"CALCUTTA: OLD AND NEW."\*

Some say the East is stirring, that her feet  
Are set the rising of the Dawn to greet,  
A thousand years have seen her less than wise—  
A thousand years and she may rise complete.  
A thousand years and she may rise and shake  
Her self-wrought fetters to the winds awake—  
Go bridge the ford and guard the pass aright  
And rule in sceptred strength for India's sake.

DAK.

“EWMAN AND CO. publish a three rupee guide which produces first despair and then fear in the mind of the reader. Let us drop Newman and Co. out of the topmost window of the Great Eastern.” Thus, somewhere in the later eighties, wrote Mr. Rudyard Kipling in his *The City of Dreadful Night*,

when he had yet to make the acquaintance of the vast congeries of “palace, byre and hovel” of the night side of which he has given the world so vivid a description. This treatment of *Newman's Guide*, if severe, was, perhaps, not altogether undeserved, but it has passed away in the form in which Mr. Kipling knew it, and, thanks to *Calcutta: Old and New*, a handbook not so unworthy of India's Capital, takes its place. This recent and important addition to the accumulating literature devoted to Calcutta has already met with a reception which must be gratifying alike to author and publishers as well as to Mr. Julian Cotton, I.C.S., who contributes a closing chapter on the River, both above and below the Bridge, to his brother's work. The book has been produced under unusual circumstances. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, well known as an earnest student of local history, paid a sad farewell to Calcutta during the course of its compilation and to this fact may be attributed many of the failings of his 1,011 pages.

It would be an easy matter to dwell on the obvious defects of a book of this kind, to linger over errors and omissions, and to revel in the dragging into prominence of misprints, and this article, the outcome of an editorial request, may, it is feared, be regarded as merely suggestive of destructive criticism of a labour of love largely unmerited. A guide-book, however,—more particularly a historical guide book,—should stand the test of sincere, if severe,

\* *Calcutta: Old and New—a Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City.* By H. E. A. Cotton. Calcutta: W. Newman and Co., 1907, price Rs. 7/8.

criticism, if, as apparently, in this instance, it demands recognition as a standard authority.

There is no occasion to present the readers of *BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT* with lengthy extracts from Mr. Cotton's fascinating pages. This has already been very freely done by the daily press. nor is there any need for praise of the admirable zeal shown in the collating and verifying of incidents, names and dates which in the main is so characteristic of the work throughout. The result is good, and because good, one wishes it better and hence the wounds which a friendly pen now cheerfully inflicts. All interesting cities (and which are not so?) are worthy of an authoritative recorded history—that for Calcutta has yet to be written—but the "historical handbook" now under notice is in many respects the most acceptable forerunner as yet of the long desired culminating production. With the now hackneyed remarks that the book is the wrong shape, too heavy for the hand and not heavy enough for the table; that it possesses neither illustrations, plans, maps, nor portraits; that some four or five pages of closely printed *errata* badly discount its general accuracy at the very start; and that Mr. E. W. Madge has provided an index, the following criticisms and suggestions are offered.

*Calcutta: Old and New* should be re-cast throughout and then rewritten: the next edition might well appear in a serial form, amply illustrated and carefully annotated.

The present writer once noticed with amusement a small handbill posted here and there on convenient wall spaces in the centre of Calcutta; it read "Wanted a few accurate compositor" (*sic*). It is (shall it be said?) perhaps due to the want of a "few accurate compositor" rather than to a shortage of inverted commas in the type of Messrs. Newman and Co.'s press or to feelings of admiration highly complimentary to the style of a previous writer of distinction that the selection of such parallels as the following is rendered a comparatively easy pastime for the sensitive reviewer with iconoclastic proclivities:—

"It was originally intended that the church should be thrown open to view by wide open spaces all around. To the east, as we have seen, lay the magazine yard, and north and south, and extending some distance to the west was the old-burying ground filled with huge masonry monuments, some of which are shown in Daniell's picture taken within twelve months of the completion of the church. What is

"It was originally intended that the church should be thrown open to view by wide open spaces all around. To the west lay the magazine-yard, and north and south, and extending some distance to the west was the old cemetery then filled with huge masonry monuments some of which are shown in Daniell's view taken within 12 months of the completion of the church. What is now Garrett's



now 'Garstin sahib-ka-barrick' on the north was then waste-ground over a filled up tank, for the Presidency General Hospital which stood on that site had been in 1768 removed to its present position in the outskirts of Bhowanipore \* \* \* The Government actually agreed to level the whole of its 'Buxie khannah' buildings where now stand Messrs. Ahmuty's premises and the Stationery Office on the opposite side of Church Lane, but \* \* \* the grant was cancelled on the 24th August 1785."—*Calcutta: Old and New*, page 471.

*Sahib-ka-barrick* was then waste ground over a filled up tank, and Government actually agreed (though it soon retracted its consent) to level the whole of its *Buxie Khannah* buildings—where now stand Messrs. Ahmuty's premises and the Stationery Office—so that the church might be open to the river."—ARCHDEACON HYDE, *The Parish of Bengal*, pages 98-99.

The explanation of this apparent literary plagiarism, of which several other instances might be given, is, of course, a simple one, and in view of future editions, Mr. Cotton himself will doubtless be grateful for the attention drawn to it by this comment. The author's original intention was to quote, but in course of printing or proof revision the inverted commas must have dropped out, and subsequently minor improvements were made in what no longer seemed to him to be the original text.

"On the very first page of the book," writes Mr. S. C. Sanial in the *Statesman*, "it is stated that Nuddea, the Oxford of Bengal for five centuries, succeeded Dacca as capital of Bengal. When Bukhtyar Khiliji invaded Bengal, Gour was its capital, and its last king, Lakshman Sen, was living in Nuddea, then a wateringplace on the banks of the Ganges. One of his predecessors, Ballal Sen, lived in Nuddea for some time, but that did not make Nuddea the capital of Bengal. Strictly speaking, therefore, the description of Calcutta as the sixth capital which Bengal has enjoyed within a period of six centuries, as well as of the desertion of Gour as capital of Bengal 'for the shifting of the course of the river,' is inaccurate. Sir William Hunter, following Sir Alexander Cunningham, the great archæologist of India, writes thus in his essay on *The River of Ruined Capitals*: 'Gour, the old capital of Bengal, flourished for about 2,000 years. It was taken in 1203 by the Mahomedans almost without a struggle. The conquered Hindu capital grew as a Mussalman city for nearly one hundred years. About this time Fakir-ud-din, (*sic*) Viceroy of Bengal, wanted to throw off the yoke of the Emperor of Delhi, and, deserting Gour, carried off the seat of Government across the Mahananda and made Pandua his capital. For two hundred years Pandua remained the capital, after which Gour was again restored to its former place. But the

end of the fated city was near at hand. War, oppression and treachery, Gour had time and again survived. It was reserved for the plague and pestilence, which broke out in 1575, to lay the proud city even with the dust. The seat of government was located at Tonda during the following seventeen years of fluctuating conquest.\* After Tonda, Rajmahal became the capital of Bengal and then came Dacca, Moorsshedabad and Calcutta. Thus it appears that the very first sentence of Mr. Cotton's 'Calcutta' is historically inaccurate. It was not the 'shifting of the course of the river' that deprived Gour of her proud position, but as Hunter says, 'plague and pestilence.'

The cure of the Princess Jahanara (page 4) by Surgeon Boughton, referred to as apparently authenticated, has been disproved by Dr. Willson.

The picturesque tradition of Charnock's "dusky bride" (page 533) snatched from *suttee* at her husband's side by Charnock and Townsend should, it may be feared, be read in conjunction with the somewhat sordid tale of a "gentoo female" up Patna way, on whose account the susceptible Job got into difficulties with "the Nabob." Sir William Hedges, senior in Council to Charnock, records the story on page 52 of Volume I of his Diary as follows:—

"When Charnock lived at Pattana upon complaint being made to ye Nabab that he kept a Gentoo's wife (her husband being still living or but lately dead) who was run away from her husband and stolen all his money and jewels to a great extent, the said Nabab sent twelve soldiers to seize Mr. Charnock but he escaping (or bribing ye men) they took his vakeel and kept him two months in prison ye soldiers lying all this while at ye factory gate till Mr. Charnock compromised the business for Rs. 3,000 in money, five pieces of broadcloth and some sword blades."

The verses quoted on pages 533-34 appeared in the *Historical and Topographical Sketch of Calcutta* (1876) by H. James Rainey who states they used to be on the tombstone and terms them "doggrel." If "doggrel" we could do with more "doggrel." It seems doubtful whether Townsend's name was Josia or Joseph, Townsend or Townshend. The question remains who wrote the "doggrel." A recent newspaper article attributes the verses to Sir—. The blank is irritating.\*

Exception may also be taken to the statement (page 11) that Charnock acquired a conspicuous masonry building known as the Portuguese mass-house. If ever such an erection existed it probably consisted of wattle and daub; as also to the remark that he obtained the cutchery of the Mojumdar family, the local jagirdars. The disproof of these assertions is made editorially in this issue of *BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT*. The present Dalhousie Square

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\* Sir Alfred Lyall is under suspicion.

Tank is referred to (page 363) as being in Charnock's day within the enclosure of the Zemindar's cutchery, an enclosure however non-existent prior to Sir John Goldsborough's visit to the settlement (page 429) after Charnock's death, when steps were taken leading to its erection.

The tradition (page 9) that Charnock was induced to select the site of Calcutta when smoking a meditative hookah beneath the shade of a large *peepul* tree near the site of the present Sealdah Station has been challenged and a *neem* tree near the present Nimtollah ghât urged as being *the* tree under which the great Job pondered over the problem involving such momentous consequences to the fate of India. The *peepul* tree is stated to have been cut down in 1820 (though 1799 is given as the date of its destruction by another writer) and the *neem* tree was (it is said) burnt down in 1879 or 1880. The former was some three miles inland and the latter close to the river. No reliable conclusions can be reached. If both trees stood when Charnock first planted his flag here there could have been no reason why he should not have sat and puffed under either as the mood led him. The *neem* got the river breeze and the *peepul* that from the higher ground, and either might have been regarded as a landmark according to the direction from which the settlement was being approached. The *neem* if it lasted from years before 1690 to 1880 must have been a pretty stiff thing as trees go in a land of cyclones and earthquakes—there may be more in a *neem* than is usually supposed—and a *peepul* that possibly braved portions of the reigns of the first James and the last George and then fell a victim to municipal improvements must have been a thing of beauty and might have been a joy for ever.

Like everyone else, Charnock, no doubt, liked big trees, and enjoyed sitting under their shade. Those of us who have taken part in our recent river trips know well the attractions that big trees have for a traveller landed in an unfamiliar neighbourhood. An ardent impulse to make for the nearest one and stay there until the steamer whistles for the return journey is merely a primitive instinct to be sternly repressed. But that, as Hamilton asserted, Charnock selected the site of Calcutta because of a particular tree is quite another matter. The course of history during two hundred years points to the wisdom of his choice. Had he erred in the selection of a site for the settlement the incalculably vast volume of trade developed since his day would long ago have swept past, or stopped short of his chosen position, and seat of Government or not, Calcutta must have reverted to insignificance, if not to jungle.

Before the days of electricity and steam he found out and fixed upon the only site suitable for the Capital. A little higher and the river would not have sufficed, a little lower and its width would have militated against easy cross communication : fogs, floods, and other elemental disturbances would

have wrought havoc to health and safety, while the Howrah side would have invited surprise attacks for many years from the Nawab and other marauding despots. Charnock touched the spot—others have done the rest. His was no chance choice, but the outcome of a statesmanlike discernment which should always win for his memory the deepest respect.

Mr. Cotton's introduction to his book, gracefully penned, is marred by at least one palpable blunder. On page ii is the remark "not a vestige remains of the Old Fort" and yet the sunken arches of the arcade,\* once within the southern curtain and now used for housing the postal wagons and other impedimenta of the G.P.O., remain as invaluable relics of the days of Holwell, Clive and Watson to the delight of local antiquaries. On page 437 Mr. Bayne's discovery of the approximate site of the Black Hole in 1883 (and not 1863) is recorded, but no mention is made of the placing of a tablet in 1884 on the inner side of the archway which then stood to the north of the Post Office in the present Charnock Place and of the laying of a pavement within the P.O. enclosure. The former bore the inscription

"The stone pavement close to this marks the position and size of the prison cell in old Fort William known in history as the Black Hole of Calcutta."

This pavement was for years supposed to cover the site and the actual walls of the fatal chamber. After further excavation in 1891 the real site (a little to the north of the earlier one) was settled, and Lord Curzon's present commemorative slab and railings erected. The archway, gate, tablet and pavement disappeared, but are now depicted from a photograph taken by the present writer early in 1890.

It is pleasant to note that the announcement of the death and entry of the burial of "pretty Mrs. Carey," the last survivor in India of the Black Hole (page 60), have recently been traced. See "The Secretary's Notes" in the present member. She is buried in the churchyard of the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Murgihatta, if the following notice from the *Calcutta Gazette* of April 2, 1801, may be relied on as relating to her. It is not included in Seaton-Karr's "Selections":—"Deaths. On Saturday last (March 28) Mrs. Carey." In the Cathedral burial-register the entry, in Portuguese, runs as follows:—"28 Marco de 1801. Faliceo Maria Carry (*sic*) foy sep. no adro de Igreja com accompanhamto: de 1 Padre," which may be translated thus:—"28th March 1801. Died Mary Carey; was buried in the churchyard, with the accompaniment of one priest." The exact site of her resting place is not known.

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\* A picture post-card is wanted of these.

Mr. Cotton contributed to the *Statesman* of August 25 last the inscription on a monument in Eastbourne Parish Church to Henry Lushington, the young writer who owed his escape from the Black Hole "to the many comfortable draughts he drew from Holwell's shirt sleeves," but is best remembered in connection with the "Loll Coggedge" incident and "greatly fell" at Patna. But Lushington, as our Editor observes elsewhere, was not the author of the fraud.

The September number of *Maga* also contains an interesting article by Mr. Cotton. It is on "Old Bengal" and incidentally deals with the vicissitudes of the family of William Watts, chief of the English factory at Cossimbazar, during the "troubles" of 1756. The daughter of William Watts and of the lady who afterwards became the "Begum Johnson" (page 139) was mother of the second Earl of Liverpool, Prime Minister of England.

On page 67, Clive is described as taking part in the destruction of Gherriah on the Bombay coast in February 1757, though he is usually supposed to have been busy nearer Calcutta about that time, and an engagement between the "Moormen" and English somewhere off the Circular Road, Calcutta, between the Black Hole and Plassey, passes unrecorded; there was a fog at the time and elephants waxed unruly.

The "Nishan" of the Company probably first became really conspicuous in Indian engagements with the advent of Clive. It bore the device (or badge) of a heart in the upper half of which were the letters E. I. and in the lower C. A vertical line ran between the two former and a horizontal one separated them from the third. A continuation of the vertical line upwards (and outside the rim of the heart) was first bent at an angle to the left and then again bent and brought across the extended vertical line horizontally forming roughly the figure 4. The badge was used for commercial purposes as well as in military operations. It is perpetuated on the first Indian postage stamps, those of the Scinde Dāk, issued under the authority of Sir Bartle Frere in 1851 and suppressed in 1854, on the introduction of the general issue for British India.

Miss Blechynden in the pleasant pages of her *Calcutta Past and Present* has the following reference to the Nishan of the Company:—

"As Dum-dum grew it became the fashionable resort for Calcutta Society and many a gay cavalcade of fine ladies and gentlemen passed along the raised Dum-dum Road to be present at a grand review. The gay dames and gallants have long slept in their scattered tombs, but the memory of their passing to and fro still lingers in the countryside where the simple village folk as they gazed after them across the level expanse of their rice-fields threaded their own exclamations of pleasure at the sight on the melody of a song which may yet



**THE WRONGLY CONJECTURED SITE OF THE BLACK HORN.**

*From a Photograph by W. Corfield taken in January 1890.*

The inscription, as given in the text, appeared on a tablet above the gateway.

be heard when in the quiet evening hour mothers croon their babes to rest:—

Dekho meri jan !  
 Kampani nishan !  
 Bibi gia Dum-dumma  
 Oori hai nishan.  
 Burra sahib, chota sahib,  
 Banka Kapitan—  
 Dekho meri jan—  
 Lia hai Nishan.

“ Which may be freely translated :—

See, oh ! life of mine !  
 The Company's ensign !  
 The lady to Dum-dum hath gone,  
 Flieth the ensign  
 Great men, little men,  
 Officers so fine !  
 See, oh ! life of mine !  
 Goeth the ensign.

Like the East India Company itself and its servants before whom it fluttered, alike in the gay processions of peace as in the stern ranks of war, the Company's *nishan*, their badge and symbol of power, has passed away from the land, and day by day as the years go by the memory of it fades and 'the old order changeth yielding place to new.' \*

Dr. Busteed's reference to a "Count" Tiretta as a boon companion of Casanova is (page 566) considered a sufficient warranty for the identification of Edward Tiretta (of Tiretta Bazar fame) with the "Count,"—an assumption lacking proof.

The date of the arrival in India of Zoffanay the artist (his real name was Johann Zauffely) is given (page 717) as 1783 and (page 482) as 1784, while his portrait of Impey in the High Court (page 717) is dated 1782. The last may be a mistake in the label, but either one or other of the former dates must be wrong. The compilation of a list of portraits and paintings by this prolific artist during his long career in India, and more particularly in Calcutta, would form interesting material for local enquiry.

It is not so easy to enumerate Zoffany's Indian pictures. The "Elijah Impey" and "The Last Supper" in Calcutta are undoubtedly his. There is no

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\* A special Badge having, wisely or unwisely, been suggested for members of the Calcutta Historical Society, its design might not inappropriately consist of the *nishan* of the Company with the letters C. H. S. substituted for E. I. C. Embroidered on a flag for use on River excursions the old "hummer with (something very like) that strange device" would be once more set afloat on eastern waters.—W. C.

portrait by him of Warren Hastings in the National Portrait Gallery, but his "Warren Hastings" was shown in the Georgian Exhibition held in White-chapel in April 1906, and an engraving of probably the same work forms the frontispiece to *Memoirs Relative to the State of India* published in 1787. His "Mrs. Hastings in 1783" is reproduced in S. C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*. It followed him to England after his retirement and the lady "caused it to be hung in a remote part of Daylesford House." "Carey with his Moonshoe" at Serampur is only attributed to Zoffany. The "Madame Grand" at Serampore, long thought to be his, is now known to be neither by him or to represent the future *Princess*. The "Governor J. Z. Holwell" in the Victoria Hall Collection, which some were wishful to ascribe to Zoffany, is now attributed to Devis or Home. His well-known "Tiger Hunt" is described in the index plate as representing "the attack and death of the Royal Tiger near Chandernagore in the Province of Bengal in the year 1788 by a party of gentlemen and their attendants mounted on elephants according to the custom of that country." It was engraved by Earlom. The "Embassy of Hyderbeck from the Vizier of Oudh to Calcutta by way of Patna to meet Lord Cornwallis" contains about 100 figures (among them a portrait of the artist). A fine engraving, published July 12, 1800, by Lawrie and Whittle, 53, Fleet Street, London, hangs in the central lobby passage of the Imperial Library, Calcutta. His "The Cock Fight at Lucknow" (painted in 1786) has about 24 portraits including those of General Claud Martin, Colonel Mordaunt (whose cocks were matched against those of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh), Mr. Wheeler, and (again) the artist. A reproduction of this picture is given in Mr. S. C. Hill's *Life of Claud Martin*. The writer has also come across a reference to a "Mahdajee Sindia at Poonah," to a "Ghori Beebee ("Fair Lady") with her slave boy Zulficar" at Lucknow (she was a Persian girl bought by General Martin from a Frenchman and died childless), to a "General Claud Martin" (also at Lucknow), to a "Two Children and a Dog" and to an "Indian portrait of a beardless man with curious cap, scarlet robe, and eastern arms backed by Indian architecture and some horsemen exercising." There must, however, be many others known to Indian picture lovers.

The name of the sitter for St. John in Zoffany's "Last Supper" is given as Blacquire (page 480) and Blacquiere (page 583). He lived to be buried in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery. On page 330 one Lyon is referred to as the name-father of the range behind Writer's Building. It has been surmised, however, by the late Dr. Wilson, that Lyon was a purely fictitious person evolved from the inner conscience of Barwell, or his agent, who for private reasons when acquiring the property desired the concealment of the name of the actual purchaser. Miss Drummond will perhaps enlighten us as to Lyon in 1799.



of her future contributions to BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT. On page 232 the term *Kintals* is used in error for *Kintalis*, and on page 267 Chowringhee is wrongly called "Chowringhee Road." No mention is made when Park Street is referred to of a possibility that the Sphinx gateway of No. 6 is a former entrance to Impey's Park.

The Clavering-Barwell duel is apparently missed altogether, though Barwell's connection with the "bring more curricles story" is more than once mentioned. The affair came off in April 1775 and neither combatant was hurt, the innocent and indirect cause of the meeting being Miss Maria Margaret Clavering, daughter of the General, for whom Barwell is believed to have entertained a tender affection. The lady subsequently became the wife of Baron Napier of Merchistoun (she died in 1821), while Barwell in September 1776 married "the celebrated Miss Sanderson" whose death in November 1778 left him a sorrowing widower, and the story of the threatened destruction of whose "massive broad-based pyramid" tomb, only recently re-identified and repaired, should have a personal interest for all readers of this journal as the advertisement anticipating its removal was the occasion for the newspaper correspondence leading up to the formation of the Calcutta Historical Society.

The theory that St. John's *chapel* was dedicated to St. John the Baptist by the Freemasons was at the best a *conjecture* of Archdeacon Hyde's. Mr. Cotton turns the conjecture into a statement of fact, and even adds that the chapel was *consecrated* on St. John the Baptist's day. Recently edited documents are fatal to both Mr. Hyde's modest conjecture and Mr. Cotton's wide pronouncement.\*

Mrs. Barwell was "Lizzie, the beauty" of "A. C.'s" vivacious verses in the *Pioneer* of March 15, 1886 (republished in Dr. Busteed's *The Serampore Portrait—is it Madam Grand?*) In the course of an imaginary conversation between Marshman's portrait at Serampore and the then supposed one of the lively heroine of Chandernagore (Dupleix being its hero), the good missionary observes:—

"Woman from your conversation"

"You seem to have held a somewhat dubious station."

"If Brother Ward or Carey could have seen us—

The 'Magdalene in Martha's closet' (breaking in)—"

"Fear not, *mon vieux*, there's half a room between us."

\* In the account of St. John's Church (page 471) it might be mentioned that according to *Asiaticus* in his *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches of Bengal*, St. Stephen's, Walbrook, served as the model for the building.

" Ah : the old days ! the ~~rows~~, the jaunt, the dinner,"  
 " Lizzie the beauty, Lady Anne, the sinner."  
 " Clavering's hot oaths, and bounteous Barwell's boldness,"  
 " Macrabie's nonsense, crabbed Hastings coldness."  
 " His haughty Marian, proud as woman could be,—  
 " (Haughty forsooth ? No better than she should be ! )"  
 " And that glad dawn when Philip to gain credence,"  
 " For his warm vows vouchsafed to me precedence ! "

Lady Anne was Lady Monson divorced from her former husband. She also lies in Park Street. Philip was of course " Junius " Francis.

The identity of *Asiaticus* has been left unsettled as the assumption is apparently made that he was Captain Philip Dormer Stanhope. The names of those who favour Major John Scott Waring in this connection have been ignored.

Then too, we read (page 202) that Hicky, the journalist, " led his Indian career in the jail in Lall Bazar," but though Dr. Busteed's researches tell that unhappy man in August 1783 in the Birjee (not the Lall Bazar) Jail it is now known that he was at liberty and practising as a Surgeon in 1784. In the British Museum two letters of Hicky to Hastings are preserved, dated 1793 and 1800, which reveal him " still at Calcutta very old, his family still too young to work, and with no prospect but that of begging their bread in the streets." He invites Hastings " to do something for me and my family " preferably by getting him the post of deputy to the Clerk of the Calcutta Market " who is old and rich and never goes near the scene of his ostensible labours." This office, with a small money allowance and the prospect of succeeding to the clerkship on the death of the holder, would enable him to support his family. Otherwise he " can only try to get a post as *surgeon* on board an Indiaman which will give all his children a free passage home." In 1801 we find Hicky appealing to Lord Wellesley to right the wrongs alleged to have been inflicted upon him by Hastings and Impey. The rest, for the present, is silence.

It is doubtful if the " Carey " of Carey's Church Lane (page 362) was the " Carey " of Serampore fame, and reasons have been adduced in favour of its commemorating the Right Rev. Dr. Daniel Corrie, senior Chaplain in Calcutta in 1817; Archdeacon in 1823; and Bishop of Madras from 1835 to 1837. The matter is, however, one of pure conjecture.

The account of " Panic Sunday " in Calcutta (June 14, 1857) given on pages 196, etc., might be amplified with advantage. " Fitzwalter " tells us, with much else, " that the Volunteer Guards when first enrolled numbered about 250 horse and 500 foot, divided into 5 troops of cavalry and 7 companies of infantry, with 4 guns. There was material in Calcutta to have formed a larger force, but public sentiment had been rather wounded by the first refusal of

its services, so the call when made was not nearly so heartily responded to as it would have been at an earlier period. Their uniform consisted of a blue tunic and a *sola* helmet. Besides being drilled for an hour every morning, they had certain districts to guard at night. One detachment was placed near the Medical College, another in Wellington Square, and another near the Doveton College, on the Park Street *chowrastha* where, at the crossing of the roads, a formidable-looking gun was mounted. Certain buildings in the city were appointed as *rendevous* for the pickets. These were the old Civil Engineering College in Tank (Dalhousie) Square, the Hindu College, the Madrasa, the Surveyor-General's building (until recently the New Club) and La Martinière. Some other centres would appear to have been subsequently added, such as Kidderpur House, the Bengal Club, the Free School, etc. Besides the above *rendevous*, there were certain large buildings scattered over Calcutta where citizens could resort for protection at night. Among these were a large house at the northern end of Wellesley Street, and another in Elliott Road, then known as Rowe's house, and now occupied by the American Mission Orphanage."

One looks in vain, however, for an account of the stirring mutiny incident at Howrah station when Colonel Neill with the Madras Fusiliers arrived from Madras *en route* for Benares. At that time the railway terminated near Raniganj. A delay occurred in getting the troops across the river, there was no bridge then, and the station-master refused to detain the train after its usual starting time. Neill ordered the seizure of the station master and others and kept them under arrest until his detachment arrived. The military situation was thus saved, but the episode serves to show how little the gravity of the position was realized even in Calcutta by the railway and other authorities. Neill subsequently reported "The matter has been brought to the notice of Government. I have heard nothing more than that Lord Canning thinks I did what was right, and the railway people are now most painfully civil and polite."

Sir Richard Garth is said (page 710) to have survived his retirement by many years. He retired in 1886 and died March 23, 1903.

Messrs. Steuart & Co. (pages 148 and 308) have for several months carried on business in Mangoe Lane in new premises built on a portion of the wrongly styled Old Mint Mart. The "treasure vault" of Barretto's Bank (p. 338) at 25, Mangoe Lane has disappeared, but in the upper flat, occupied by Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes, may be seen a curious stunted door studded with flat knobs which looks romantic. The door leads to nowhere in particular, but when closed hints at great possibilities.

In connection with the Ochterlony Monument (page 403), it should never be forgotten that it forms the background of a scene recorded in the memoir of the late Mr. Justice Onoosool Chunder Mookerjee, which his biographer's

own words may best tell. "Little Mookerjee, however, was not without that curiosity which leads many a boy in Calcutta to play the truant at school, and stories are told of many gangs of urchins absenting themselves from school in order to see the Asiatic Museum at Park Street, the Ochterlony Monument on the maidan or the Fort. An anecdote is related in connection with these excursions which I think worthy to be jotted down here as proving most conclusively that the progress made by little Mookerjee at school, though not very garish, was nevertheless of a most solid character. Once \* \* \* he with some of his brothers and cousins went to see the Monument, when he had ascended a few steps, he received a severe blow on the head, which rendered him impercipient for a few moments. He was then brought out with great difficulty by his companions. A few seconds after this, a Cyclopean English sailor came out of the Monument; and little Mookerjee asked him in a gentle voice why he had treated him thus. \* \* \* The reply stung little Mookerjee to the quick, and he addressed his rude assailant for more than an hour, dwelling chiefly upon the principles of Christianity. \* \* \* The words of Onocool Chunder had a marvellous effect. The savage heart of the sailor was moved, and he went away making an apology for what he had done."

The New Club (page 928) was the outcome of the "Qui Hai" Minstrels, a company of amateurs, who, in 1882 and 1884, met together to give musical entertainments during the rains, much to the pleasure and gratification of the general public. The first Club-house (1884) was at No. 235, Lower Circular Road from whence a move was made in July 1885 to No. 47, Park Street. This building was (as already remarked) a *rendezvous* for loyal citizens during the troubles of 1857. The lease of the adjacent house was never acquired, but No. 52-1 nearer Chowringhee, was rented for a few years as chambers. In June 1907 the Club removed to No. 38, Chowringhee. Dancing is not "one of its amusements" as stated by Mr. Cotton. Further north, the Bengal Club (page 925) has recently purchased its central block, and arrangements are being made for demolition and rebuilding on a larger scale. On page 926, the former location of the Club is given as at both Elysium Row and Esplanade Row. Which of these statements is correct? On page 214, the new Military Secretariat is termed "the work of the present year." It was practically completed in 1905. The buildings "soon to be demolished" on the site at the corner of Council House and Hart Streets (page 331) have long been removed to make way for the new Secretariat designed by Mr. J. Ransome, Consulting Architect to the Government of India. This notable addition to the City's public buildings, four storeys high with a *façade* in Porebunder stone, will afford the strongest possible contrast to red and yellow official architectural mistakes of recent years.

One is glad to note that Mr. Julian Cotton refuses to identify the native name of Barrackpore "Chanak" with Charnock, but why does Mr. H. E. A. Cotton let escape without rebuke those who still derive "Kidderpore" from Kyd (page 299)? Colonel James Kyd died in 1836: Kidderpore appeared in the old maps and treaties nearly one hundred and fifty years before Kyd's death. No notice is taken of St. Stephen's Church, whose graceful spire is one of the sweet home-mindful things which refresh our eyes on our evening drive round the *maidan*; and the interesting memorials in that Church pass without mention. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton ignores a historical picture which hangs on the walls of Kidderpore House, and the name of the founder of that excellent institution is not so much as mentioned.

On page 639, Sir J. F. Stephens' well-known words about Henry Martyn are quoted as "truly said." There may have been a mere tinge of truthfulness about them at the time they were written, but to those who have read of a Patterson, the Selwyns, Keith Falconer, Smythies, Maples, Tucker, Mackenzie, Steere, Hannington, O'Neil, Dolling, Lowder and a hundred and more such others, the "now" of the quotation is blindness to historical fact.

Miss Blechynden in the October number of *East and West* writes instructively on "Some Old Calcutta Worthies" of the map-makers William Baillie and Aaron, Upjohn and of Edward Tiretta and the Chevalier De L'Etang. Baillie and Upjohn were contemporaries: the former's "Plan of Calcutta" was published in 1792 and the latter's map in 1794. Neither appear to have made money as the result of their skill and enterprise, though the "Plan" sold at Rs. 25 a copy and the map at Rs. 60. Baillie's drawings of Calcutta were also, from a commercial point of view, failures. He died in June 1799, aged 46. Upjohn died in 1800 and lies in a nameless grave in the city upon the past appearance of which he and his rival have thrown so useful a light. His end was preceded by tribulation of a kind that involved hiding from creditors in Danish territory. Baillie "had been nursed by a faithful wife who raised to his memory a stone on which long after her own name was traced."

The Chevalier De L'Etang, after an adventurous career as a "soldier of fortune" in Southern India, came to Calcutta in 1796, and conducted the *menage* as a riding school on the site where now stands the Asiatic Society's house at the Chowringhee corner of Park Street. He also successfully carried on a horse "Repository" in Dhurrumtollah together with auction rooms, he paying Rs. 6,000 for some stables there. This business still continues in the hands of Messrs. Cook & Co.

De L'Etang's later career is unknown, but the *Bengal Obituary* records an "Inscription taken from a tablet placed in the Gazeepore Church," which, if it relates to him, would show that he lived to be old. He was Sir H. T. Prinsep's great-grandfather. (See BENGAL : PAST AND PRESENT, p. 27.)

M. S.

CHEVALIER ANTOINE DE L'ETANG, KNIGHT OF ST. LOUIS.

BORN 20TH JULY, 1757, DIED 1ST DECEMBER, 1840.

"Of Tiretta, a Freemason, the additional facts are known that he never married again and left Calcutta for Italy in 1805 with his daughter. He had previously sent his sister-in-law, Josephine, to England with a letter to Warren Hastings, which is still extant.

Miss Blechynden's article is written in her usual pleasant manner, but why apply the term *Worthies* to living or dead celebrities? At what age does any one become a *worthy*. Was "Billy" Spike, the heroic midshipman "lost at the capture of Fort Orleans anno 1757, aged 18," a *worthy*? The present writer's conception of a *worthy* is that of a commonplace sort of a man, past middle age, with a reputation for virtue probably in excess of his merits. Mr. Jacobs, the jocular novelist, is fond of depicting him with a scraggy beard and other unattractive attributes. Do let us try to keep him out of the pages of BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.

Of Father Parthenio (page 480) it is said that he was a friend of Mrs. Johnson and that the old "Begum" at a supper party in his company "drank small beer and became so merry as to play on the *tom-tom*."

From the "Begum" with her *tom-tom* to an even greater Johnson with his dictionary seems a natural transition, and the present writer has come across an important statement by Dr. Samuel Johnson which he does not remember to have seen quoted in any work on Calcutta. In Boswell's *Life* there is recorded the following remark by the Doctor made in 1776. He was then 67 years of age. "I lately (said Johnson) received a letter from the East Indies from a gentleman whom I formerly knew very well; he had returned from that country with a handsome fortune, as it was reckoned, before means were found to acquire those immense sums which have been brought from thence of late: he was a scholar and an agreeable man, and lived very prettily in London, till his wife died. One evening he lost £1,000 to a gentleman whose name I am sorry I have forgotten. Next morning he sent the gentleman £500 with an apology that it was all he had in the world. The gentleman sent the money back to him declaring that he would not accept of it; and adding that, if he (Mr. Fowke) had occasion for £500 more, he would send it him. He resolved to go out again to the East Indies and make his fortune anew. He got a considerable appointment, and I had some intention of accompanying him. Had I thought then, as I do now, I should have gone: but at that time I had objections to quitting England."

From this it will be seen that "Sir, let us walk in Fleet Street" might have read, "Sir, let us walk in the Respondentia," but for those objections to

quitting England and other mighty "might-have-beens" that the mind could conjure up would fill volumes.

Joseph Fowke (with whom Dr. Johnson might have settled in Calcutta) went to India in 1736 as a writer and became (1751) fifth member of Council at Madras. He resigned the service and returned to England in 1752, but again came to the East in 1770 and settled in Calcutta as a merchant. Here he and his son, Francis, were, with the notorious Nundcomar, indicted for conspiracy against Warren Hastings and found guilty. Joseph was, however, afterwards re-appointed to whatever office he held and finally resigned and returned to England in 1790. Burke forced a vote in the House of Commons to grant him a pension. He died at Bath in 1806, aged 86.

The Durbhanga Statue (page 410) is no longer the City's latest, an equestrian one of Sir John Woodburn having been unveiled by Lord Minto on the north side of Dalhousie Square on March 22, 1907. The Queen's Statue (page 393) was robbed of its figure of St. George surmounting the orb of state held in the right hand about a year ago. The statue of Sir Ashley Eden (page 411) has been *twice* removed. It first occupied the site of the Holwell obelisk and then that of Sir John Woodburn's statue. The continued immuring in the Town Hall of the Cornwallis statue (page 384) has recently been the subject of an animated newspaper controversy and its transfer either to the Cathedral or to St. John's has been vainly suggested. The statue of Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (page 424) has this year been removed to the west side of College Square facing the Senate House. The Panioty Fountain (page 406) was set back some yards when the Maidan corner was rounded off in 1904.

Foley's statue of Outram (page 400) was, before its shipment to Calcutta, temporarily placed on a prominent site in London and met with such pronounced public approval that a determined and enthusiastic attempt was made to retain it permanently in the old country. The bust of the first Lord Minto (page 478), which stood in the Gallery of St. John's and was shattered by the 1897 earthquake, is at last, all will be glad to hear, about to be replaced. The public portrait of Lady Dufferin (page 764) is mentioned, but not her bust in the Hall of the Dufferin Hospital. A large sum has been collected for a statue of Lord Curzon, which it is understood will be placed in Curzon Gardens, and a fountain commemorating Lady Curzon and indeed her own gift, is promised, while Lord Curzon himself has originated a successful movement in London for the erection of statues of Lord Clive in both London and Calcutta. It would appear that London has no public memorial to Clive except an indifferent statue in classic attire hidden away in the recesses of a public office and a "mason's effigy" (so his

Lordship terms it) on the outside of another public building. His Majesty the King Emperor and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales are supporters of this truly national movement. Mr. Percival Landon, 5, Pall Mall Place, London, S.W., and Mr. C. B. Bayley, Calcutta, are the English and Indian Honorary Secretaries to the Fund to whom subscriptions may be sent.

The race-course (page 269) has of late months seen great changes, the old grand-stand has gone, and three new ones have been built, while the historical little stand (with its back to the doomed jail) is threatened with a far too procrastinating demolition. The account of early racing experiences (page 151) is capable of extension. Though the Bengal Jockey Club is mentioned as having been founded in 1803, race meetings took place in Calcutta a good deal before that and the *Asian* once published an account of events that came off in 1794, unearthed by Mr. Forrest, the late Record-keeper to the Government of India. According to *The Good Old Days of John Company*, however, races were held as far back as 1780. Morning racing was not all joy as an old time writer says: "On arriving at the race-stand, where the floor is covered with straw and a carpet, you may incase yourself in upper Benjamins and cloaks innumerable, and still fail to guard against the bitter cold of the morning; but in three or four short hours, when the sport has terminated, the heat, glare and dust become almost insufferable, and you hasten home to divest yourself of all but an under-garment." A list of the winners of the Viceroy's Cup would add to the interest of the appendix.

The history and development of local journalism is inadequately dealt with, and Mr. S. C. Sanial, in the *Statesman* (on Sundays in August and September) as also in the *Calcutta Review* for August, has some pertinent criticism to offer on this and other topics. The subject is too large a one for this notice, but it may be mentioned here that the selling price of the three dailies is now reduced to one anna. An afternoon newspaper, the *Empire*, started on October 1, 1906; *Capital*, the financial and occasionally theological weekly, has for many years proved itself indispensable as a commercial guide, philosopher and friend, while the *Asian* and others worthily represent the interests and experiences of the sporting community. The account of the Doveton College (page 956) lacks precision, no mention being made of the difficulties which have crippled its energies for years and reduced its usefulness almost to vanishing point. The Municipal Market references (page 947) do not include mention of the Lansdowne Road extension—a failure so far. The Central Municipal Office, Corporation Buildings (why not call it the "Council House" for short and revive an historical memory?) is said (page 939) to present its old stucco frontage to Corporation Street, but this frontage has been engulfed by a red brick erection, as red brickly as any that disfigures the city. The Boer gun (page 940) has



never been presented to the city for the adornment of Chowringhee Place. The erection of a theatre on Municipal ground in the vicinity, though long arranged for, is steadily delayed, while the Opera House has been rebuilt and a Crematorium erected. The Baman-basti tank at the junction of Park, Camac and Wood Streets has been filled in and its site grassed over. The operation began in August 1904; and to-day, just three years later, the finishing touches to the improvement are being made. The Esplanade tank, a wearisome eyesore during the "filling in" process, is now no more. Its removal has detracted from the picturesqueness of the Dhurumtollah corner (the reflection of the mosque and other buildings in its waters having been a favourite subject for the artist and the camera wielder), but its end if sure was slow. It took years to fill up. An old picture post-card view of the Mosque now before me has the following :—

This is a church where Mohamadans pray—  
It was once by a tank but it isn't to-day,—  
The tank's disappearing and getting quite small,—  
In ten years or so there'll be no tank at all.

The Dalhousie Square tank and gardens (page 328) were made over by the Corporation to the Government of Bengal in 1905. They have been re-arranged and beautified by the present custodians, the improvements being all the more welcome because effected quickly.

In the description of the Government House gateways—one lion with a paw on each gateway, as indicated by the text, seems rather too tall a story even for a historical handbook. Cold prose simply fails to meet the occasion. There's really no help for it, as will be seen from Dāk's verses elsewhere in this issue of *BENGAL : PAST AND PRESENT*.

The references to the great Baptist Missionary trio—Carey, Marshman and Ward (page 998)—fall short of adequacy, for instance the interesting fact is left unrecorded that the chilling reception of their first arrival, prior to settling in Serampore in 1799, was accentuated by the general suspicion that they might be actuated by motives of sympathy with the French revolutionists and therefore objects of rightful displeasure to the loyal English in India. The short reference to the Baptist Chapel in Lall Bazar (page 651) can be understood as it has important historical associations, but that to the Circular Road Baptist Chapel, on the same page, seems misplaced unless accompanied by similar notices of the Union Congregational Chapel in Dhurumtollah (which contains many memorial tablets), the Wesleyan Chapels and those of other non-conforming bodies. The Y.M.C.A. is not referred to.

[Is the connecting link between the new Opera House and the Crematorium the staff that passes as a "peg" at certain refreshment bars?—EDITOR, *B. P. & P.*]

The Indian Museum (pages 930-36) in Chowringhee and its galleries with their magnificent collections and individual exhibits is carefully though meagrely treated. It is obvious that the subject proved too large a one for handling from a distance and was therefore wisely evaded in detail. Mr. Firminger's *Thacker's Guide* still holds the field though in need of bringing up to date. The collections of pictures, coins, etc., in the rooms of the Asiatic Society (pages 921-24) would also admit of fuller description in detail.

Mr. Cotton is, however, far more at home on the subject of the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection (pages 801-841). He fails to give us a list of the Trustees, but in other respects furnishes the fullest up-to-date information available on wisely condensed lines. It may not be generally remembered that he was the able later editor of the *Journal of the Queen Victoria Indian Memorial Fund* which ran for two numbers, dated 1901 and 1904, and then ceased to appear with his departure from Calcutta. Mr. Cotton will, long before this, have been relieved to learn that his doubt expressed (pp. 800-801) as to the practicability of building the Hall upon the Cathedral Avenue site has been set at rest by the Report of the Committee of Experts appointed to enquire into the matter, and that now, in spite of would-be wreckers still anxious to frustrate Lord Curzon's noble efforts and to deprive Calcutta of the crowning glory inherited by right of her standing as the Capital of India, the Trustees need have no fear in carrying out the mandate entrusted to them. The following is a summary of the Report, dated May 10, 1907, together with the proceedings of a meeting of the Trustees held at Simla on June 25 following :—

"The site is well chosen, the work is unexceptionable, the average settlement is normal, and the fractures are due to features of the plan, which are open to objections that the designer could not have easily foreseen. Under certain (specified) conditions, but not otherwise, we unhesitatingly recommend the Trustees to proceed with the work in the full assurance that completely satisfactory results will be attained."—James R. Bell, F. Palmer, W. Banks Gwyther.

And here are the proceedings of a meeting of the Trustees held at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on June 25, 1907, when there were present His Excellency the Viceroy, Sir Andrew Fraser, Sir Francis Maclean, Sir Louis Dane and Sir Herbert Risley.

"The report of the special Engineer Committee appointed to advise the Trustees on the foundations of the Victoria Memorial Hall was read and considered, and the following Resolutions were passed :—

"That the report of the Special Committee of Engineers be communicated by Sir Herbert Risley to Sir William Emerson, with the request that he will favour the Trustees with his matured opinion as to the best way of meeting

the views of the Committee of experts as to the modifications required in the foundations and in the character of the superstructure, and generally with his advice as to the course which the Trustees should now pursue.

"That papers relating to this question be forwarded to Lord Curzon and communicated to the Press."

The descriptive notes of the collection are admirable, though additions have since been made. Among them is the *nucleus* of a collection of the Postage, Fiscal and Telegraph Stamps of India and the Indian Feudatory States. This is in course of formation and arrangement by the present writer (a Vice-President of the Philatelic Society of India), and it is hoped that in course of time it may become the most representative collection of Indian stamps in the world, and, when suitably exhibited, a leading attraction of the Hall. The desire has often been expressed that the plates, etc., from which the early Calcutta made stamps were produced may be permanently exhibited in the Hall. The romantic story of these issues is to be found in the Society's work on the stamps of India of which Mr. Stewart Wilson is part author and Messrs. Stanley Gibbons, Ltd., are the publishers. Other stamps included in the collection are those of the Calcutta Small Cause Court (1869 to date), a purely Bengal series which has been fully dealt with by Mr. Crofton, I.C.S., and the present writer in *The Adhesive Fiscal and Telegraph Stamps of British India*.

To the list of those sleeping in the Military Cemetery should be added the name of poor, gifted Esther Leach, the "star" of the "Sans Souci" Theatre, fatally burnt in 1843, and that of Walter Landor Dickens, second son of Charles Dickens. Lieutenant Dickens had been on service with the 42nd Highlanders and died here in the Officers' quarters at the Hospital on New Year's Day 1864 within a month (according to Forster) of completing his 23rd year, though the burial register gives his age as 24. In 1853 his father wrote to the youth's godfather, Walter Savage Landor. "Walter is a very good boy and comes home from school with honourable commendation and a prize into the bargain. He never gets into trouble, for he is a great favourite with the whole house and one of the most amiable boys in the boy world. He comes out on birthdays in a blaze of shirt pins." And again, later, to Miss Coutts (through whose influence a cadetship had been secured in the Bengal Native Infantry): "Walter has done extremely well at school; has brought home a prize in triumph; and will be eligible to go up for his India examination soon after next Easter. Having a direct appointment he will probably be sent out soon after he has passed, and so will fall into the strange life 'up the country' before he well knows he is alive and what life, is—which indeed seems to be rather an advanced state of knowledge." Forster speaks of young Dickens as "never

forfeiting his claim to these kind paternal words—he had the goodness and simplicity of boyhood to the close.” Charles Dickens is less closely associated in our minds with India than is Thackerary, but that quiet grave within our borders surely links us with him by a silken chain of personal affection which time itself can never snap.

The *Asiam* records yet another fairly potent cyclone in May 1893 in addition to those described on pages 226-28, distinguished by some curious incidents. In the course of the blow a big German steamer went on to a sand bank and in the hopes of getting her off numerous cargo boats were sent down to lighten her of her load. While doing so the tide rose, and a second small cyclone swept down which blew the *Germania* back into the river unscathed, but played havoc with the lighters, several of which were lost. Another incident of this elemental disturbance was the blowing up in an inland creek of a river steamer, whose passengers included the manager and accountant of one of the biggest exchange banks. The good ship *Mudhopper*, or whatever her name was, was not heard of for some days, and when the bank in question re-opened after the Queen's Birthday holiday there were no safe keys forthcoming and consequently no money and only three or four *chola sahibs* to run the establishment. Fortunately the Bank of Bengal rose to the occasion and sent over funds and some of their staff to pay all cheques that came in, and the Bank's regular employes carried on the emergent business of other description as best they could.

In the account of La Martinière College (page 953) the building is said to be surmounted by a large dome. The dome was removed some years ago for reasons of safety, and about the same time as the removal of the dome, the south portico fell with fatal consequence to several workpeople. The Medical College Hospital (page 962) is being considerably extended, the foundation stone of a new Surgical Block having been laid with elaborate Masonic ceremonies on February 3, 1906, in the presence of Lord Minto and Lord Kitchener. On this occasion a framed picture from the *Illustrated London News* depicting the laying of the stone of the main building with similar honors by the Marquis of Dalhousie in 1848 was exhibited and inspected with interest.

To the Appendix many would be pleased to see added a list of the Bishops of Calcutta—

Thomas Fanshaw Middleton	1814
Reginald Heber	1823
John Thomas James	1827
John Mathias Turner	1829
Daniel Wilson	1832
George Edward Lynch Cotton	1858

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Robert Milman	1867
Edward Ralph Johnson	1876
James Edward Cowell Welldon	1899
Reginald Stephen Copleston	1902

While to the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal should be added the Honourable Mr. L. Hare, C.S.I., C.I.E., and the Honourable Mr. F. A. Slacke, both of whom acted during the absence of Sir Andrew Fraser in 1906.

The extension of the High Court and the erection of important government buildings in Government Place and Wellesley Place (displacing later on "Elgin's Folly") are in course of progress, as is also the extension of the Indian Museum on the site of the demolished Art Gallery.

Among events of recent years outstanding in local history which might at least have been touched upon is Mr. Percival Spencer's sensational balloon ascent early in 1890. Spencer (a parachutist) made two unsuccessful attempts to ascend from Rainey Park, Ballygunge, and his third attempt from the race-course was attended by an enormous concourse of people in the presence of the Viceroy. He ascended, but without his parachute and car, and disappeared into space at sunset clinging on to the guide-ropes only. It was several days before he was discovered miles away in an isolated jungle and brought back to Calcutta in triumph to the great relief of an anxious and excited community. The Earthquake of 1897 is but barely mentioned. The Talla riots are unrecorded, and Lady Minto's Fête, though ancient history at the time of publication, escapes notice. "The gigantic Calcutta Improvement Scheme" is said (page 238) to "loom in the immediate future." The immediate future seems a long way off. The "immediate future" seems to be nothing else than a convenient excuse to increase rates and house rent. It is well known that this much needed and long awaited scheme has been shelved on the ground that India has need of rest, and a large section of the public was well voiced in the matter by "Dāk" in the *Empire*, a few months ago, in the following verses :—

#### SHELVED !

"*Unhappily Lord Curzon's services are not available and we must wait till somebody else turns up.*"\* (A writer in the *Empire*.)

'Tis well to preach and 'tis well to prate, and 'tis well to be slinging the "gup,"

But better to leave the righting of wrong till somebody else turns-up.

Ho! bring me stylos and flagons of ink with blue-lined reams of the best,—

But never forget the safe old saw "the land hath need of a rest."

---

\* In a speech by Lord Curzon towards the end of his first period of office he is reported to have said that were he not Viceroy he would like to be Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation for a certain period with a free hand.

The town hath need of a big new broom—a broom of the goodliest brand—  
A broom that will rush through slime and slush when somebody comes  
to hand.

The town hath Death on the dance ashout, from its core to its border's  
rim.

So we sleep, let the fleshless fool fling on—why worry a bit about him?

Ah me! when the man with the will comes by, when that somebody else  
is found,—

How the slime will slink and the spectre fly and the spade and the pick  
resound:

How the great good sun and the reeking earth will grapple it hot and  
strong!

Ho! the pest will pass and the plague will die when somebody comes  
along.

"The land hath need of a rest," they say, but the town of a broom, and  
so

When that somebody somewhere comes this way we don't for the  
moment know.

The smoke curls white from the ghât's hot lip, and the death-gongs rattle  
apace,

And the people are pent in a palsied grip at the beck of an occident race.

We hold the land as "a trust for aye," while the town rots under a pall,  
Yet the land needs rest, and the people die, and nobody's coming at all.  
The flag of the English King flaunts wide to the haze of a brazen sky,  
And the white flares red where the flame leaps light and nobody else  
comes by.

Then bring me stylos and bring me ink and blue-lined reams of the  
best—

The "hukhum" hath come from the Talking-house where the white men  
rule in the West.

And the neck and the crop of the WHY? is this—that the land hath  
need of a rest—

So look to it well that ye sleep apace and snore as the death-gongs ring,  
While the tom-toms beat in a frenzied race to the laud of the spectre king,  
And heed ye well as ye drain the dregs of the "rest-cure's" somnolent cup,  
Don't ever tackle a wrong but wait till somebody else turns up.

The impressive public funeral service on the death of the Empress  
Victoria and the proclamation of His Majesty Edward VII were worth  
calling attention to, but they find no mention at Mr. Cotton's hand.

To the excellent appendix of books about Calcutta might be added Lady Dufferin's *Our Viceregal Life in India*, S. J. Duncan's *The Path of a Star*, S. C. Hill's *Life of Claud Martin*, *The Memoirs of Mr. Justice Onoosool Chunder Mukerjee*, *The Journal of the Queen Victoria Indian Memorial Fund* (1901 and 1904), the two philatelic works already referred to, *The Photographic Journal of India* and a brochure written by (it is thought) the late R. C. Sterndale about the year 1889 graphically descriptive of the taking of Calcutta by a Russian force.

Mr. Cotton has been sparing of the usual quotations from Mr. Kipling without which no work on Calcutta is complete. The "Mid-day halt of Charnock" is missing as is also "Power on Silt" of the "Song of the Cities." The grim ballad of Fulta Fishers' Boarding House, though referred to, is unquoted from, and

"The little silver crucifix that keeps a man from harm"

consequently unmentioned; while the "jubilee" fireworks of 1887 when

"Out and near as the twilight drew hissed up to the scornful dark

"Great serpents blazing of red and blue that the land might wonder and mark  
are missing.

Turning to other writers, Henry Meredith Parker's "Mr. Simms"

"the good, the kind, the gay"

"The hospitable Mr. Simms"

puts in an appearance on page 1010, but is badly mutilated; and the haunting verses by Professor Browning to the late Lady Curzon are looked for in vain.

"Awhile I dwelt in high romance  
Mid pillar'd porch and column'd hall,  
But through each banquet, rout, and dance  
You were the beauteous Queen of all."

A right helpful book on a grand subject—a subject (to apply a quotation from Matthew Arnold)

"Too great for haste,—too high for rivalry."

WILMOT CORFIELD.



# The Founder of Calcutta.

## 1. THE PATNA PERIOD.



THE memory of the founder of Calcutta is clouded by so many absurd and discreditable legends, that I feel little or no apology is needed for a series of articles, which, making no claim to the merit of original research, will bring together the results of scientific enquiry. Few of us, perhaps, remember, as each successive St. Bartholomew's day comes round, that that day is the anniversary of the foundation of our City. Yet there is high authority for the seemly commemoration of those who have gone before us. "Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his power from the beginning. Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies. leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for people, wise and eloquent in their instructions—all these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times, there be of them that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported. And some there be, which have no memorial, who are perished as though they had never been; and their children after them. But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten. With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant. Their seed standeth fast, and their children for their sakes. Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall not be blotted out. Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for ever more.'

As to the lineage, birthplace, and date of birth of the founder of Calcutta nothing has as yet been discovered. He arrived in India and either in 1655 or 1656, and he died on January 10, 1693—*i.e.*, after about thirty-seven years of residence in Bengal. Those learned in the study of family names could, perhaps, find some clue to the problem of Job's birthplace.

Whether or no he came to India as a servant of the Company is also uncertain, but in a nominal roll entered in the *Court Books*, 12-13, Jan 1653, he appears as a junior member of the council at Quasimbazar, thus "Job Charnock, fourth, 206." In a letter of the Court to their agent at Hughli 'dated 27 February 1654 we read:—

"Since dispeade of our prementioned of 31st December, we have proceeded and made some good progress as to settling of our severall factories in all parties of India and have concluded to reduce all factories both to the northward



and southwards, PERSIA and the BAY, to be subordinate into our PRESIDIES which we shall settle in SURATT. Wee have likewise resolved to establish four agencies, *vis.*, one at Fort St. GEORGE, one in BANTAM, a third in PERMA, and the other at HUGELI, which last place being your Residence, it most necessarilie requires your knowledge of what we have determind in relation thereunto, which as followeth, *vis.*

" At HUGELI wee do appoint

MR. GEORGE GAWTON to be our agent whose salary we have settled at £100 per annum.

(—second at £40, Mathias Halstead third at £30.

William Ragdale, 4th, at £20; Thomas Davies, 5th, at £20.)

" At BALLASORE.

(Thomas Hopkins, Chief at £40; Walter Rogers, 2nd, at £30; William Daniell, 3rd, at £30; Joshua Wright, 4th, at £20.)

" At CASSAMBAZAR.

(Jon Renn, Chief at £40; Daniel Sheldon, 2nd, at £30; John Priddy, 3rd, at £30; Job Charnock, 4th, at £20.)

" At PATTANA.

(Richard Chamberlain, Chief at £40;—second at £30; William Vassell at £30; —4th at £20.)

" These are the four factories which we determine shall be settled in the BAY OF BENGALA, and that they shall be accomptable and subordinate to the agencie of HUGELI and from time to time follow all such directions as they shall receive from you."

From the fact that so soon after his arrival in India, Charnock appears in the home records as a servant of the Company, it may be safely concluded that he came out to this country in the Company's Service and most probably on a five years' engagement. But, although four Bengal factories are mentioned in the document just quoted, it must not be supposed that the intentions of the Court were realised in the years 1857-58. Sir Henry Yule is of opinion that, previous to February 1659, it is doubtful whether the Quasimbazar factory was regularly occupied. But obscure as the problem is we can trace Job on his way to Patna, where his first years of strenuous work were to be performed. Tho. Bateman, one of Job's companions, writes from Balasore in the August of 1658 :—\*

" Loving friend, MR. PICKERING,

" I cannot forgett my friends though at the greatest distance, but chuse rather to be importunately troublesome then uncivally forgettful, you have been, frequently remembered here by your friends upon the bubbling designe which since your absence is not so well carried out as it ought to bee, wee are all generally so sensible of the want of your Company that you have often been wisht for. Your friend Mr. KEE is not yet recovered, but has every other day his wonted fits, and poor JOE begins to droope and sympathise with JEN'S sickness. I hope by this time you are acquainted with the Carousing DUTCHMAN that you may be able to beare vp against those Melancholy thoughts that assault the solitary. This day I mean

\* *Budge's Diary*, Vol. iii. cxvii. † "Drinking."

to drink your health, with a *vivat* *Jacobus Pickering*, that her may suddainly and safely returne to regale the hearts of those that Love him, amongst whom you may please to reckon.

"Your reall friend,

"THO. BATMAN."

A little later the following letter shows us Job at Rajmahall :—

From Mr. Henry Aldworth to Thomas Davies

"Rajmahall, pro. febr. 1658(-9).

"MR. THO. DAVIES,

And esteemed friend Yesterday arrived this place where found the Bezar almost Burnt and many of the people almost starved for want of Foode which caused much Sadnes in Mr. Charnock and myself, but soe not much as the absence of your Company which we have often remembered in a bowle of the clearest punch, having no better Liquor. Mr. Chamberlayne and Mr. Charnock are going to-morrow p. Pattana : Mr. Charnock for the quicker despatch of his voyage, is now cutting of his haire, and intends to enter into the Moores fashion this day. I would have sent you one of his lockes too keepe for a antique, but Mr Chamberlayne hath promised to doe it . . . . .

Your assured loving friend,

"HENRY ALDWORTH.

'Mr. Charnock tenders respects to you and soe wee doe both to Wm. Pitts.'"

In 1650, the Company had despatched to Bengal the good ship *Lyoness*, under the command of Captain John Brookhaven. Arrived in the Balasore Roads, the Captain sent the factors, destined for the Hughli, on their way up-country. In the paper of instructions issued to the factors we find a mention of "Patennar" as being "on all sides concluded the best place for procureing Peter" (*i.e.*, saltpetre). "Sugers," too, were said to be excellent at "Patenna."† For some years the future founder of Calcutta must have been engaged in "procureing Peter" for export. His engagement seems to have been for five years, and a letter preserved among the archives of the India Office shows that in January, 1657-58, Job was minded to quit India for good and all, unless his masters could see their way to appointing him chief at Patna—an appointment which seems to have soon fallen to his lot.

The date of the coming of the first English agents to Patna, Asoka's Pataliputra, has not been discovered. Professor H. H. Wilson has said "an attempt was made to establish a Factory at Patna in 1620,"‡ but Sir H. Yule could find no authority for this, and he adds "in any case such an attempt must have been made from Surat through Agra long before the settlements were made in Bengal." About the year 1667, a certain John Marshall thus describes Patna as Charnock must have known it :

"Pattana lyes in the latitude of 25 degrees and ( ) minutes *inter* *Gangem* and in Pleasant Place. The Honble, Company have no flactory here but what (they) hire, nor doth

\* *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III., cxclv.

† Wilson. *English in Bengal*—Vol. I., pp. 25-26.

‡ Mill. *History of British India*. Edited by H. H. Wilson.

the Chiefs usually resides there, by reason the Nabob's palace is in the City, and his servants and officers are constantly craving one thing or another, which if not given, though they have not what they desire yett they are not satisfied therewith, but (cause) great trouble, and if given what they desire will be very chargeable, which inconveniency is prevented by living at Singee which lies north of Pattana about ten or twelve miles *Extra Gangem*, and is Scituated in a pleasant, but not whole (some) place, by reason of its being most Salt peter ground, but is convenient thereof, for salt peter men live not far from it."\*

Singee is the modern Singhiya, near Lalganj, on the left bank of the Gandak River, about fifteen miles north of Patna. After 1690, when the English abandoned their out-stations, it would seem that Singee passed into the hands of a Dutch Company, and, that about 101 years afterwards, it was repurchased by the English.†

Charnock's life at Singee must have been one of constant adventure ; comforts and luxuries would have been rare and hard to seek. That the Company's affairs flourished under Job's management is obvious. "The Court," writes Dr. Wilson, "were never weary of asking for saltpetre from Patna, where it could be so good and cheap that the contract was discontinued on the West Coast in 1668 and at Masulipatam in 1670." This was, no doubt, due to Charnock's energy, and it, to some extent, accounts for the highly appreciative tone of the Court's references to him in their correspondence. In addition to his commercial activities, Job was charged with the general superintendence of the Company's interests at Delhi, and, although there is nothing to show that he ever visited the Court of the Mogul, yet it was suggested by the authorities in England, (December 15, 1676,) that he might be sent to Delhi to negotiate for a new 'phirmand' to secure exemption from customs.

The difficulties in Charnock's way were immense, but they were not without a certain educational value for his far-seeing mind. The events of these years were teaching him that the confidence which the English had been so willing to place in the great country powers was but mere vanity. The year 1672 was one of utmost disaster. In it, we find Walter Clavell writing to Mathew Gray, the Deputy President at Surat, of the sufferings inflicted on the "Petre Trade" under the *régime* of Ibrahim Khan. Until now "business went very well on in Singee and thereabouts, where we make our Petre investments ; but since that time, he being a bookish Nimmauzzee, his officers have taken advantage of their master's supines in his other affaires and having almost ruined Pattana."‡

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\* *Hodges' Diary*, Vol. II., p. ccl. For the distinction between *Ganges inter Gangem* and *Ganges extra Gangem* see an article by Mr. C. E. Buckland in our next issue.

† *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIII. 43.

‡ *Hodges' Diary*, II., xiv.

Mr. Clavell,\* in consequence, ordered Charnock "to dispatch away some able vaqueel to Delly, that he may endeavour a removell of these troubles which we receive from the Droga and the new Divan," but apparently Job was too wise to place much confidence in concessions on paper. "The king's *hookim*," he writes on July 6, 1678, "is as small value as an ordinary Governor's," and a few days later (July 18)—

"In our opinion the summa of money demanded is very large considering all circumstances. Had it bin another King, as Shajehaon, whose phermaund and kasbulhookims were of such great force and binding that none dare to offer to make the least exception against any of them, it might have seemed somewhat reasonable; but this with King Oramshaw 'tis the contrary, none of which in the least feare with the people, all his Governours making small accompt thereof."†

To the Patna period of Job Charnock's life must belong the—if indeed it belongs to Charnock's life at all—the story of mingled heroism and shame reported of him, after his death by a bitter enemy, Alexander Hamilton:—

"The Country about being overspread with *Paganism*, the custom of Wives burning with their Deceased Husbaunds is also practised here. Before the *Mogul* war, Mr. Charnock went one time with his ordinary guard of Soldiers to see a young Widow act that tragical Catastrophe, but he was so smitten with the Widow's Beauty, that he sent his Guards to take her by force from her Executioners, and conducted her to his own Lodgings. They lived lovingly many years, and had several children; at length she died, after he had settled in CALCUTTA, but instead of converting her to *Christianity*, she made him a Proselyte to *Paganism*, and the only part of Christianity that was remarkable in him was, was burying her decently, and he built a Tomb over her, where all his Life after her Death he kept the anniversary Day of her Death by sacrificing a Cock on her tomb after the *Pagan* manner; this was and in the common report, and I have been creditly informed, both by *Christians* and *Pagans* who lived at Calcutta under his Agency, that the story was really Matter of Fact."

Sir Henry Yule scouts this story on the grounds that (1) "it is not likely that a European at Patna, or elsewhere in the country, could have ventured in those days to abduct a *sati* widow from the pyre" and that (2) "it would be hard to reconcile with 'the Pagan manner,' or Hindu rites, the sacrifice of an unclean bird (to *Æsculapius*?)."‡ As to the first contention it may be said that an outrage on current Hindu feeling may have been somewhat cheap in so Mahomedan a city as Patna in the days of Aurangzeb, and as to the second, Dr. Wise§ has shown us that the sacrifice of a cock is a part of the worship of the *Panch Pir*—a cult which Hindus in Behar have seemingly

\* Walter Clavell. Sent out in 1665, with extraordinary powers by the King and the Company, in order to deal with the dissensions of the Madras Factors. (Wilson. *English in Bengal*, Vol. I., Bk. II, Chap. I.) In 1650 or 1651 he became chief in the Bay; in 1677 he died. There is a curious reference to Clavell's horses in Masters' Diary: "Mr. Clavell's three Persian horses were sent hance to Dacca, one valued at 900; one 1800, one at 1400 rupees."

† *Hedges' Diary*, II. XVII.

‡ *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. II., p. xci.

§ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXIII., Pt. III., No. 1, 1894.

borrowed from a low class of Mahomedans. But Hedges, another hostile witness to Charnock's reputation, has quite another story to tell, and I venture to think that when we are confronted with two witnesses both hostile, and when those witnesses do not agree, we may give the man whose reputation is attacked the benefit of the doubt. Writes Hedges :—

"1682 Dec. 1,... This morning a Gentoo sent by Bulchand, Governor of Hugly and Cassumbazar, made a complaint to me that Mr. Charnock did shamefully, to ye great scandull of our Nation, keep a Gentoo woman of his kindred,\* which he had done these 19 years, and that, if I would not cause him to turn her away, he would lament of it to the Nabob which, to avoid further scandull to our Nation, with fine words I prevailed with ye poor fellow to be pacified for ye present

"I was further informed, by this and devers other persons, that when Mr. Charnock lived at Pattana, upon complaint made to ye Nabob that he kept a Gentoo's Wife (her husband being still living, or but lately dead). who was run away from her husband and stollen all his money and jewels to a great value, the said Nabob sent 12 Soldiers to seize Mr. Charnock, but he escaping (or bribing ye men) they took his Vakeel and kept him 2 months in prison, ye soldiers lying all this while at ye Factory gate, till Mr. Charnock compoundeth the business for Rs. 3,000 in money, 5 Pieces of Broad Cloth, and some sword blades. Such troubles as these he has had divers times at Cassumbazar, as I am credibly informed; and whether she or Mr. Charnock dyes, ye pretence will certainly lye heavily on ye Company.'

It will be observed at once that Hedges' account, if it is worth anything at all, is absolutely fatal to the rescue from *sati* tradition. In 1682, after Charnock's youngest daughter had been born twenty-one years, the native husband of Charnock's wife is described as "but still living or but recently dead" and Job's espousal of the Gentoo lady is set back nineteen years.

These stories may, perhaps, show that Mrs. Charnock was a lady of Hindu extraction, and that Job's marriage afforded an easy opportunity for those, who bore him no good will, to spread their slanders broadcast. Tradition, as voiced by the *Bengal Obituary*, has it that Job's wife "dying shortly after the foundation of his new city, was entered at the mausoleum which to this day stands entire, the oldest piece of masonry in Calcutta." The mausoleum, it may be said, almost with certainty, was not erected till nearly three years after Charnock's death!\*

In the meanwhile the Court were showing their appreciation of Job's services by an increase of the emoluments of his office. In 1607 (October 25), his salary was increased to £40; in 1676 he was granted an annual gratuity of £20.

\* Hyde. *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 28. It is absurd to suppose, as Mr. H. E. A. Cotton seems to, that the Townshend poetic epitaph can "corroborate" Hamilton's story.

In 1678, Charnock received an invitation to join the Council at Madras, an offer which, it is plain, he considered unworthy of his acceptance. The Chief and Council at Patna write on October 28 :—

"We have observed what your worshipfull Agent and Councill of Fort have inserted in a clause of their letter you sent us in yours, concerning Job Charnock, to which he replies that he is in noe way satisfied, nor can he in the least conceive that the five of Councill theire belongs to him, and therefore desires their excuse for his not proceeding thither, he being not a little troubled to see such hard measure afforded him from thence, by depriving him thus of the right which hath so many yeares since and doth now at the present time belong to him, and therefore desires that they would be pleased to take into further consideration, being almost confident that his Honble Employers will not suffer him to be thus neglected and unregarded after his 20 years service in their employment, but afford him his right station."

W. K. F.

*To be continued.)*



# Members' Note Book.



THE following notes are from our venerable patron Dr. H. E. Busteed :—

1. MACRABIE'S NAME was so spelled, so far as I have seen, by Francis uniformly ; though he was often fickle in the spelling of proper names. It was also so spelled in any Calcutta newspaper that came under my eye, the spelling quoted from Forrest's selections "Mackrabi," as the Sheriff's signature must be very exceptional. I do not remember its being spelled "Mackrabi" in Francis' *Memoirs*, but any instance there might have well escaped me. Though I was allowed the privilege of seeing M.'s diary in original I cannot recall that I there saw his name in full or written by himself. The grandson of Sir P. Francis (the late Mr. H. R. Francis) in his *Junius Revealed*, always spells the name Mackrabie, and this I suppose must be accepted as the correct spelling.\*

2. DR. TYSO SAUL HANCOCK. It is regrettable that his grave cannot now, I fear, be identified. He was intimately associated with Warren Hastings and knew the Imhoffs. His wife was an Austen, and his daughter (Hastings' Godchild) married (secondly) the brother of Jane Austen. I remember I found his gravestone one morning lying on the ground in the South Park Street Cemetery. The inscription then was quite readable. I came on it on the left as one went up the main walk, about ten yards from the entrance gate. This at least might be preserved if still findable. I think I have seen the name spelled Hancock also.†

3. In Mackrabie's original diary, I remember seeing this entry : it occurs when speaking of the card-playing at "Barasutt," February, 1776.

"Next morning such of us as were not too fatigued to leave our mattresses rode or walked to an octagon summer house built upon an eminence by the late Mr. Lambert, who was the husband

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\* This note is in reference to *Bengal Past and Present*, p. 87.

† The inscription is given in the *Bengal Obituary* and reads thus :—

"Here lieth the body.

Of Tyso Saul Hancock, Esq.,

Who died 5th November, 1775, aged 64 years."

of Lady Hope. This is a pretty toy erected on an eminence and distant about a mile from Barasutt, with walks, flowering shrubs and gardens. The ashes of that gentleman (for his body was burned by his particular direction) are deposited under the building."

Is there anything known or traceable about these names, that structure, or that deposit under it?

Here, writes Mr. Corfield, are some advertisements from old Calcutta Gazettes, which may be new to some of your readers.

"*Sicca Rs. 500 reward.* Whereas on Sunday the 7th April, on a visit to Mr. John Andrews at Hooghly, about the hour of six in the evening, a boy, about 4 years of age, answering to the name of Bobby Oakes, was secreted, stolen, or destroyed, in or from the premises of Mr. John Andrews. The boy was of fair complexion, and spoke the English and Native languages, and was of uncommon strength for his age. If any person or persons will give information to any of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace at Calcutta, the Magistrates of Chinsurah or of Hooghly so as to bring any one or more of the parties so concerned and offending to justice, shall on conviction, receive a reward of five hundred rupees, to be paid by Mr. Richard Oakes, of Chinsurah."—September 5, 1799.

"*Sicca Rupees 600 reward.* A child lost, on a visit with his father, Mr. Richard Oakes, on the 7th April last, at the house of Mr. F. Andrews, Hooghly; a boy of about four years of age answering to the name of Bobby Oakes; whoever can give certain information concerning him, to any of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace at Calcutta or elsewhere, or to Mr. Oakes, or to Mr. Andrews at Chinsurah, on conviction shall have 600 Rupees reward. The hat and shoes of the child said to have been found upstairs after he was lost were put down in the presence of his father before dinner, and there were left, when after dinner he ran from his father downstairs to play. He was lost between the hours of five or six in the afternoon, when Mr. Oakes and Mr. Andrews were upstairs, and the servants of the former, together with those of the latter to the number of about 14, were below, in almost every part of the premises, which circumstances seem to have been invidiously concealed in some former advertisement. Let the public hear and judge. For their satisfaction and the vindication of insulted innocence and hospitality, it is further mentioned that the most probable way of the child's being lost was by his going down the steps which lead from the premises into the water, and falling in; the gate at that time, according to



custom, for the bringing up of water, being open for about half an hour. A. Andrews."—September 26, 1799.

Poor little Bobby, did he become a wandering gipsy child, a puzzle to himself and a trial to others? If so, the author of "Kim" could best relate his fate. Let us hope, however, that it was short and sure by the merciful exit of the water-gate.

"*Pacific Razors.* Tulloh and Co. have received a consignment of Pacific Razors by the *Elisa Anne*, that shave in the easiest and most pleasant manner, and are so constructed that it is impossible for the most nervous or timid persons to cut the skin in using them. The razors are the first of the kind brought to Bengal.—January 9, 1800" There is a touch of genius in that word "impossible."

"*Marriages.* Lately at Fredericksnagore, Mr. Jeison, an eminent Solicitor of the King's Court of Law at that Settlement, to the beautiful and accomplished Mrs. Wendall, sister of Mr. Princely. His Danish Majesty's Resident at Balasore."—February 5, 1801

In the next Gazette, however, it is stated that this notification is a mistake.

"*Lost, stolen or strayed.* A black and tan terrier dog pup, about four months old; any person who will bring the same to the Printing office or to No. 13, in Writer's Buildings will be handsomely rewarded. After this notice, should the dog be found in the possession of any person, he shall be prosecuted."—April 1, 1802.

"*Caution. Bandel, 10th November 1804.* Every person present at Bandel Church while divine service is performing from the 15th to the 24th current, are requested to behave with every due respect as in their own Churches; on the contrary, they shall be compelled to quit the temple immediately, without attending the quality of person."—November 15, 1804.

"*Sale by Auction. For sale by Public outcry by Messrs. Lawrie and Gould at their spacious New Room.* On Wednesday the 12th December next, the estate of Atchepore situated about six miles below Budgebudge, with all the buildings, stills, sugar mills, and other fixtures appertaining thereto; an inventory of which may be seen at the auction-room.

"The Atchepore Estate contains about 650 beegahs of land, is held by pottah from the Burdwan Raj, and pays an annual rent of Sicca Rs. 45."—November 15, 1804.

*"Anniversary of St. Andrew for 1805.* It is hereby notified to the sons of St. Andrew at or near the Presidency, who have not yet subscribed to the entertainment to be given on the 30th instant, that a paper is at Carlier and Scornee's rooms for subscription. Subscription this year fixed at fifty Rupees each."—November 7, 1805.

WITH reference to the old pen-and-ink drawings (reproduced through the courtesy of Miss Perry of Barrackpore), representing Sir Henry Wilmot Seton and some witnesses in the Supreme Court during a trial, Mr. K. N. Dhar, B.A., sends the following note from the Imperial Library:—

"These drawings were the work of a talented gentleman, the late Mr. W. R. Baillie, a grandson, it is believed, of the W. Baillie whose set of twelve



SIR HENRY WILMOT SETON, KT., PUISNE JUDGE, SUPREME COURT, CALCUTTA, 1838-1842.

coloured views of old Calcutta is so well known. The witnesses are not such as one generally meets with during a trial in a Calcutta Court nowadays. For one thing, attention may be drawn to the style of the head dresses which is most unusual. Henry Wilmot Seton graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1807, and two years later was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn. He rose to be an eminent member of the profession and his versatile intellect and sound knowledge of law gained for him the respect of his brother-advocates. 'In 1836 he submitted to a committee of the House

of Commons some learned and interesting notes on the Statute Law including a list of statutes showing how far they were in force or not.



WITNESS IN COURT.

This List is of importance as the basis on which the subsequent expurgatory list and the earlier Statute Law Revision Acts were framed.' In 1838



WITNESS IN COURT.

he received the Order of Knighthood and was appointed a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court, which was at that time situated on the Esplanade,

West. He was Vice-President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and a Member of the Indian Prison Discipline and Public Instruction Committee, besides being the author of *Forms and Judgments and Orders in Equity*—a three-volumed publication whose usefulness is proved by the fact of its



WITNESS IN COURT.

having passed through six editions. By no less an authority than Sir T. Erskine Perry it was characterised a 'valuable work.' Sir Henry Seton died on July 26, 1848, on his voyage to England."

[For a notice of William Baillie see an article by Miss Blechynden in *East and West*, October 1907. Would that Miss. Blechynden would place at our disposal the documents on which her article is based.—EDITOR.]

### CHARNOCK'S PROPHETIC SOLILOQUY.

From a fragment which ought to have been picked up near a marble slab on a club gate-post in Chowringhee :—

Hail to the last asylum !  
 Hail to the wanderer's haven !  
 Hail to the rents that rise sky-high  
 And the path that's still unpaven—  
 Here hard by Boytaconnah,  
 Under Sealdah's height,  
 All in the land of Materam—  
 Is fixed the glorious site.

Hurrah ! for the great city  
That stretches many a mile—  
Hurrah ! for gallant merchantmen  
Who passing make their pile :—  
Thine, Briton, is the pilum,  
Briton, the pile is thine,  
The ordered line of stock and share—  
The corn and oil and wine.

There, where the leopard ranges  
On Howrah's further shore,  
The flare from endless flues shall rise  
For endless looms that roar ;—  
And here, by miles of jetties,  
Some day the dust shall foam  
'Fore the bright eyes of wives and girls  
Whose berths are booked for home.

All hail ! to Clive's stout pilum,  
All hail ! the Income-tax,  
All hail ! the chain of worth that winds  
From Madame Grand to " Max ;"—  
Now by the scented maidan  
The motor-bus is seen—  
And clubs and pubs where tiger-cubs  
Made frolic on the green.

Blest, and thrice blest, the Briton  
Who sees Ind's proudest day—  
Who sees this big malodorous swamp  
Start on its wondrous way—  
Here, 'neath this spreading *peepul*—  
Bid me the future probe—  
That booms the everlasting fame  
Of Capitalian Job.

DÂK.

## THE LION (NOT TO MENTION THE UNICORN).

(A fragment of "for Cotton Lovers.")

["Particularly noticeable on the east and west are the four fine gateways, surmounted by the figure of a lion." Calcutta Old and New, p. 662.]

You know, of course, that pile sublime  
Where floats a flag at Christmas time—  
With sentries marching in and out  
While scarlet peons walk about ;—  
Its where we go, quite free from cares,  
To *levers* and the like affairs.

I've been and bought a volume rare  
From Mr. Eden in the Square ;  
You've only got to give a look  
To find it a delightful book ;  
(I quote the passage that I love  
In neat *italics* up above).

One paw was placed all *comme il faut* near F. H.  
Hathaway & Co.—  
The next one rested on the gate *en face* (that's French) to  
"Diamond" Tait.  
And one right on the other side topped the third gate  
(prodigious stride!) ;—  
The last was on the gate to hand where Steuart Bayley  
used to stand.

The figure towered when quite at home  
High o'er the flag-staff on the dome—<sup>\*</sup>  
(The sort of brute to keep your eye on  
And something like a British Lion).

The Unicorn if built to scale  
Is not referred to in the tale,  
Perhaps he found snug quarters near  
Astride the top of Belvedere.  
(Oh, what a fine titanic fight  
When *they* commenced to snarl and bite.)

<sup>\*</sup> The Lion must have faced either east or west.

Dear Mr. Cottop, 'H. E. A.  
I'm, sorry, Sir, you've gone away—  
You might have let your stylo flow  
On that colossal beast, you know :  
If this perchance your eye should hit—  
Do tell us *what became if it*.

("One Gate, one Paw" was, so they say,  
The measure of an elder day—  
But *pace* Mr. Cotton's try on—  
The rule is now "One Gate, one Lion.")

DÄK.



# A Memory 1756.



BY the courtesy of the Editor of the *Statesman*, we are permitted to reproduce here the following interesting letter from Mr. H. E. A. Cotton :—

SIR, — The recent establishment of the Calcutta Historical Society and the revived interest in a vanished and forgotten India which I am glad to think it indicates, encourage me to ask of you to reproduce the accompanying inscription in honour of one of the survivors of the Black Hole which I had the opportunity of copying not long ago on the occasion of a visit to Eastbourne Parish Church. Henry Lushington, whom it commemorates, was the young writer who, as we all know, owed his escape from death to the "many comfortable draughts" he drew from Holwell's shirt-sleeves. but as perverse posterity chooses to remember him also as the author of the "Loll Coggedge," the famous duplicate treaty on red paper, at the foot of which he forged the name of Admiral Watson, by command of Clive, for the deception of Omichand, it is only fair that the manner in which he "greatly fell" at Patna in 1763 should likewise meet with due record. There are many references in books on Calcutta to this inscription in Eastbourne Parish Church, but I have never seen it reproduced and hence I beg the favour of a portion of your hospitable columns. It would have found a place, let me add, in "Calcutta Old and New," but it did not come my way until after the pages of that portion of the book had been printed off. The inscription, then, which is placed upon a large and imposing marble monument and is surmounted by a portrait medallion, is as follows :—

"Sacred to the Memory of Henry Lushington, eldest son of Henry Lushington, Vicar of this Parish, and Mary his wife, whose singular Merits and as singular Sufferings cannot fail of endearing him to ye Latest Posterity.

'At ye age of sixteen in ye Year 1754 he embarked for Bengal in ye Service of ye India Company, and attaining a perfect knowledge of ye Persian Language, made Himself essentially Useful. It is difficult to determine whether He excelled more in a Civil or a Military capacity. His Activity in Both recommended him to the Notice and Esteem of Lord Clive Whom with equal credit to himself and Satisfaction to his Patron He served in the different characters of Secretary, Interpreter and Commissary. In ye Year 1756 by a melancholy Revolution he was with others to the amount of 146 forced into a Dungeon at Calcutta so small that 23 only escaped Suffocation. He was one of ye Survivors, but reserved for greater Misery: for by a Subsequent Revolution in ye Year 1763 He was with 200 more taken Prisoner at Patna and after a tedious confinement being singled out with John Ellis and William Hay, Esqrs., was by the order of the Nawbob Cossim Ally Kawn and under ye Direction of one Some Roo, an apostate European, deliberately and inhumanly murdered. But, while ye Seapoys were performing their Savage Office on ye first mentioned Gentleman, fired with a generous indignation at the Distress of his Friend, He rushed upon his Assassins unarmed and seizing one of their Scimitars Killed Three of them and Wounded Two others, till at length oppressed with Numbers, he greatly fell.

"His Private character was perfectly consistent with his Publick one. The amiable Sweetness of his Disposition attached Men of ye Worthiest Note to Him, the integrity of his Heart fixed them ever firm in his Interests. As a Son He was one of ye Most Kind and Dutiful: As a Brother ye most Affectionate. His generosity towards his Family was such



as hardly to be Equal'd his circumstances and his Age considered, hardly to be Exceeded. In short he lived and died an honour to his Name, his Friends and his Country. His Race was short (being only 26 years of Age when he died) but truly glorious. The rising Generation must Admire, May They Imitate, so Bright an Example.

'His Parents have erected this Monument as a lasting Testimony of Their Affliction and His Virtues.'

The parents themselves are also buried in the Church, which stands, I may say, in the middle of the old village of Eastbourne, quite a mile away from the garish modernity of the seaside hotels and parade and pier. Mrs. Lushington died in 1775. 'If the esteem, the love, the tears, the supplications of all who knew her, of husband, children, friends and neighbours, of high and low, of rich and poor, could have disarmed death of the power to kill, she had not died ; but alas ! in vain was their united force, it being appointed unto man once to die. *Maritus maerens posuit.*' So runs the epitaph upon her monument, hard by her son's. A flat stone marks her grave and that of the Vicar, and on it is stated that "he was the father of Henry Lushington, of Bengal, and of seven other deservedly beloved children" and that he was Vicar of the parish for forty seven years. On a monument in the chancel the following lines may be seen engraved :—

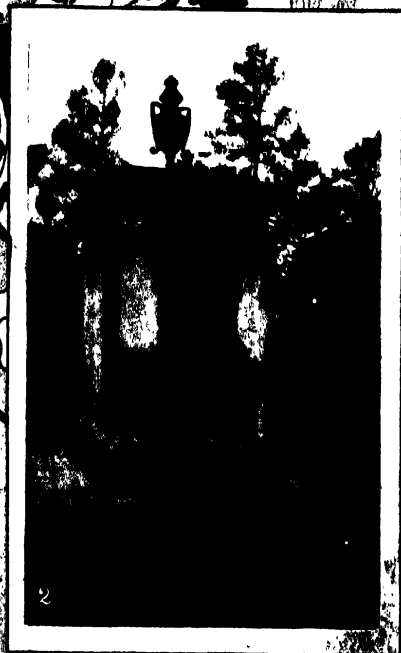
Reader, if yet the sympathising tear  
Will give you leave to see who's buried here,  
Know that the father of the matchless youth  
And her whose pleasing beauties gave him birth  
Adjoining so his deathless tomb hath chose  
In the same grave their ashes to repose,  
In humble hope that they by His renoun  
In distant ages will be handed down

H. E. A. COTTON.

HAMPSTEAD, August 1st, 1907.







"HINDU" SUDARI'S TOMB. 2. HASTING IMERY'S TOMB.  
(PHOTOS BY A. P. SOMERVILLE, ESQ.)

## Secretary's Pages.



SINCE the publication of the last number of **BENGAL : PAST AND PRESENT** the membership of the Society has increased to 181 and there seems every probability of a further increase during the winter months when the Metropolis is more or less full. Among our latest members are Sir Arthur Fanshawe and Mr. C. E. Buckland, both well-known Anglo-Indians. In the meanwhile some work has been done in the way of preserving monuments and naming graves.

MRS. BARWELL'S grave has been practically rebuilt and a tablet is in the making by Government. The inscription on the tablet as submitted by the Society bears, besides the date of Mrs. Barwell's death, the following appropriate lines by our well-known member "Dāk" :—

" Raise high the yield of Akra's kiln and deftly spread the pliant lime—  
Build we a pile to send her fame long ringing down the depths of time—  
To tell the world of Beauty lost for all the days that are to be—  
This pearl of England gently set where England queens the Indian sea.

" At the suggestion of the Calcutta Historical Society this monument was restored and this inscription added by the Government of Bengal.

ANNO DOMINI, 1907.\*

ANOTHER item of interest is the naming of the grave of Mrs. Carey. In this connection the following letter has been received from the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal :—" In continuation of this Government letter No. 1156-T.C., dated June 20, 1907, and with reference to the suggestion that a tablet should be placed on the wall of the Catholic Male Orphanage schoolroom at Moorgheehata to mark the site of the grave of Mrs. Carey, one of the survivors of the Black Hole tragedy, I am directed to request that you will be so good as to propose a suitable inscription for the consideration of the Lieutenant-Governor." The following is the inscription, for which we are indebted to the labour of Mr. E. W. Madge of the Imperial Library, whose researches resulted in the discovery of the locality in which Mrs. Carey is buried.

" NEAR THIS TABLET  
WERE INTERRED THE REMAINS OF  
MRS. MARY CAREY,  
WIFE OF PETER CAREY, MARINER.

With her husband, mother, sister, and other prisoners she had, on the night

of June 20, 1756, been confined in the Black Hole Prison. She survived that tragedy, and of its survivors, was the last to die in India.

MRS. CAREY DEPARTED THIS LIFE  
AT CALCUTTA, ON SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1801,  
AGED 60 YEARS.

THIS TABLET HAS BEEN ERECTED  
by  
THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL  
AT THE INSTANCE OF  
THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
1907."

SOME TIME ago a rumour reached me to the effect that the water-works people had in contemplation the demolition of Aldeen House at Serampore for the purpose of improving the Howrah Water-Works system. As this house is of very considerable historical importance and in a good state of repair it will be seen that its demolition would be a very unfortunate loss to the History of the Province. Under the circumstances the District Engineer has been written to enquire whether the rumour is correct. So far I have received no reply, but in the event of the rumour being true it will be necessary to approach Government on the subject.

THE monument over Major-General Charles Stuart in South Park Street Cemetery is one of the most interesting and picturesque in Calcutta. The General was well known in his day as "Hindu" Stuart. Having made a close study of Hinduism he is said to have conformed to its practices inasmuch as he used to proceed from his residence in Wood Street to the riverside for his daily bath, and made a collection of idols which he took with him on the occasion of his re-visiting England. References to his peculiarities will be found in Missionary biographies such as Dr. Mullens's *Memorials of Lacroix* and Lewis's *John Chamberlain*. Nevertheless old "Hindu" Stuart was buried with Christian rites, by the Rev. J. R. Henderson, Junior Presidency Chaplain, St. John's Cathedral, on April 1, 1828. His tomb is the model of a Hindu temple, having in front (*i.e.*, to the south) a carved gateway of slate-coloured stone. Of this gateway the upper portion appears to have been taken off and has for some months past been lying behind the monument, while the head of the figure, which once surmounted it, has been placed on the floor inside the structure. The monument ought to be restored without delay by the Burial Board.

HASTINGS IMPEY, who is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta, was the fourth and the favourite son of Sir Elijah Impey by Mary (*née* Ready) his wife. Like his father before him Hastings was a king's scholar of Westminster. In 1800 he came out to India in the Bengal Civil Service, with his younger brother, Edward, his writership dating from August 29th of the preceding year. The only appointment Hastings Impey is shown to have held was that of "Register to the Adawlut at Allahabad." He died on February 4, 1805, in his 24th year, according to his epitaph, but in his 21st, according to Mr. H. G. Keene's article on Sir Elijah Impey in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. I am indebted for two photographs of these two interesting tombs to Mr. A. P. Somerville.

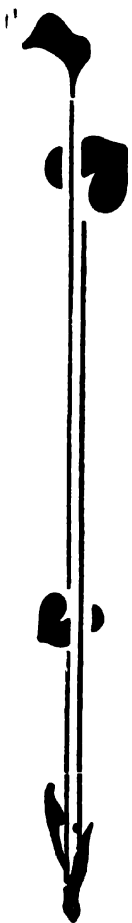
ROBERT DUNBAR,  
*Honorary Secretary.*



## NEW MEMBERS.

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.	DATE OF MEMBERSHIP 1907.
Allen, J. C. ...	303, Bow Bazar Street ...	13th July.
Archer, A. G. ...	Eura Mansions ..	12th August.
Bacon, E. G. ...	71, Garden Reach ...	8th "
Baker, J. W. ...	13, Camac Street ...	23rd "
Barton T. W. ...	Great Eastern Hotel ..	19th July.
Bryning, Miss A. ...	8, Pollock Street ...	12th "
Buchanan, Lt.-Col. W. J. ...	19, Writers' Buildings ...	5th Sept.
Buckland, C. E. ...	61, Cornwall Gardens, S. Kensington, London	29th "
Carne, P. ...	8, Chowringhee ...	24th July.
Chitty, Hon. Mr. Justice ...	21, Loudon Street ...	15th "
Cotton, J. J., I.C.S. ...	Collector of Cuddapah, Madras Presidency ...	16th "
Cruden, D. A. C. ...	8, Clive Street ...	8th August.
Elliott, W. T. T. ...	2, Clive Ghat Street ...	2nd October.
Emerson, H. L. ...	71, Garden Reach ...	1st July.
Erle Richards, Hon'ble ...	Legislative Department, Simla ...	6th August.
Fanshawe, Sir Arthur ...	10 H. S. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, London	29th Sept.
Gall, R. L. B. ...	12, Clive Row ...	22nd August.
Goodman, J. ...	22, Strand Road ...	12th July.
Hart, F. T. ...	71, Garden Reach ...	19th August.
Hough, A. G. ...	31, Lansdowne Road ...	13th July.
Hudson, J. ...	3, Camac Street ...	23rd "
Hutchison, Robert W. ...	6, Clive Row ...	Do.
Ingram, Halford D. ...	71, Garden Reach ...	6th Sept.
Kiernander, Mrs. L. A. ...	235½, Lower Circular Road ...	12th August.
Larmour, C. F. ...	60, Bentinck Street ...	22nd "
London, L. L. ...	101, Clive Street ...	19th "
Lovett, Pat ...	300, Bow Bazar Street ...	8th "
Lyell, Geo. ...	Horsell Lodge, Woking, Surrey, England	30th July.
Milne, Major C. J. Robertson ...	Berhampore ...	25th "
Nattore, Maharajah of ...	6, Lansdowne Road ...	8th August.
Newson, P. W. ...	4, Clive Row ...	22nd "
O'Brien, W. H. ...	71, Garden Reach ...	4th Sept.
Prentice, W. D. R., I.C.S. ...	Custom House ...	24th July.
Saunders, J. O'B. ...	9, Hare Street ...	29th Sept.
Selfe, P. A. ...	Bank of Bengal, Patna ...	21st August.
Smith, Lockhart ...	4, Mangoe Lane ...	5th Sept.
Spink, W. T. ...	2, Creed Lane, London ...	23rd Oct.
Steele, W. R. ...	7, Hastings Street ...	24th August.
Stridsberger, R. ...	Vulcan Iron Works ...	24th July.
Stuart, J. H. Cohen ...	New Club, Calcutta ...	2nd October.
Swan, P. S. ...	12, Clive Row ...	22nd August.
Tremearne, Shirley ...	98, Clive Street ...	Do.
Voigt, F. ...	7, Swallow Lane ...	29th July.
Wade, G. Vernon ...	6, Theatre Road ...	11th "
Wallace, D. R. ...	Ernsthausen Limited... ..	6th August.
Wallace, G. ...	4, Commercial Buildings ...	Do.
Wilson, P. J. ...	12, Chapel Road, Hastings ...	22nd July.

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